What's The News?

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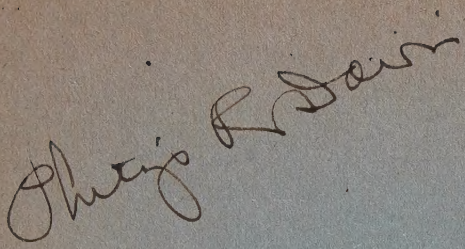

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WHAT'S THE NEWS?

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To the reporters and news-writers of America, whose realism reflected in their hurried interpretation of their times is a balance wheel of our civilization, this book is dedicated in the hope that it will make clear to all that newspapers act like newspapers because folks are folks.

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THE WHY OF IT!

Books without end! Fiction, biography, books about books, books about newspapers, book reviews!

So here is this book! There are reasons for it, but no apologies. Its authors have eaten three square meals a day for many years while on newspaper payrolls, where they are yet.

They now work in the same office. They met and they gossiped. They recalled that they are in the reflective forties and have been in the business twenty years. So they talked about it. They talked of conservative papers and radical papers and papers that are neither. Each had worked on all three kinds.

So they swapped gossip about murderers and other famous persons they had known, and how like other people the famous or the notorious are, at least according to the samples met.

Then the two men talked about books, con-

cluding that there is nothing new under the sun, except a million or so ingenious contrivances. Then they talked of human nature, about how history never seems tired of putting on much the same show with new casts.

They talked about newspapers and how they had been written about as the creations of master minds or the results of following certain codes, taboos, and all that sort of thing.

"Let's write a book," said one.

"We will," replied the other, "but about what?"

"The newspaper," the first retorted.

"Viewed from a naturalist's standpoint, as one would study a potato bug," replied the writer of interpretations of modern business.

"Exactly," retorted the copyreader, "its habitat, the laws of its life and growth, and death."

"As we have seen it for twenty years, the inside stuff, the food on which it lives, the air it breathes, the financial life that nourishes it in the American cities."

"That's it, and only about the American scene, for that is all that matters," the copyreader responded, "and if the public falls for this book, we will do another."

"About what?" said the financial writer, growing suspicious.

"Wait until we see what happens to this," said the copyreader, "time will tell and there are lots of typewriters."

HARPER LEECH (Scrutator)
and
JOHN C. CARROLL

Chicago, March, 1926.

INTRODUCTION

The news is accelerated literature. The newspaper is the shuttle, weaving the tapestry of history on the loom of time. If sometimes the images seem out of drawing and the colors gaudy, be consoled, for the boldest colors fade; the fabric is woven so fast that its new folds push their predecessors beyond the range of sight, the dust of indifference dulls the pictures.

Yet look while you may at the kings and beggars, the presidents and paupers, the coronations and executions, the social pageants and the devastating plagues, the pictures of bumper crops and those of famine, the views of beauty and those of horror that are woven on the loom, pause before you for a moment, then make way for new portions of the ever forming tapestry.

For in the fabric is woven your life, its joys, its sorrows, its triumphs and failures, its calm and its contentions. There are pictures there so like you, whoever you be, that in secret at least you know them for your portrait. The

story of your fellows is there, the story of your city, of your state and of your nation.

As the daily movements of the shuttle picture life, so moves the mind of man and so his hand fashions. New industries and civilizations rise, progress and die; empires are born, grow great, end slowly in decay or in a welter of blood slide into the abyss. The feudal lord gives way before the captain of industry and the merchant prince, as armor, embossed with gold or silver, fades into the color of Asiatic mud or that blue mist that haunts the horizon of Flanders.

Folds of this ever renewed, ever growing tapestry of history are laid on your doorstep in the morning, or raucous-voiced men or youths force your attention to them as you pass stands near the transit lines that carry you to your job, or at corners where you step from your automobile.

You are the citizen and to you these fragments of the pictured history of your life and world are impermanent as the air. Still if you

take up old newspaper files and thus look at section after section of this tapestry of history, where its edges are torn and its tints mellowed, you will see one scene leading into another, as if by the hand of some designer the shuttles that wove the tapestry were guided to pattern, as happens with a loom, whether it be steam-driven in Fall River, Massachusetts, or hand-worked in Samarkand.

You cannot, if you would, escape glimpsing this tapestry of history, for the threads of it are gathered from all about you. The events pictured on this tapestry shape your thoughts, govern or misgovern you, tax you into poverty, exalt you into wealth, make or mar you. You are part of this fabric of daily weaving, part of the cloth of life. Perhaps you are only a single thread, perhaps only a knot among the millions that make up the weave, but you are part of it whether or no.

The scientist calls this interweaving cause and effect, the Christian calls it Providence, the Moslem world calls it Kismet, call it what

you will. Unable to escape this fabric of life, you grumble, or laugh, work or play, love or hate, motor, golf and dance and make the best or worst of it.

The purpose of this book in presenting a study of the newspaper as the shuttle in this tapestry of history, now to drop metaphor and simile, is to show the press as a thing reflecting and reacting from the casual chain presented by its environment. Amply and well have the mechanical features of newspaper production and the technique of newspaper writing and editing been portrayed. From that slogan which defined the publisher's function as "To raise Hell and sell papers," to the more modern and exalted expressions of popular service, newspaper objectives have been variously and ably defined. The present viewpoint is neither exalted nor cynical. The aim is to present the permanent elements of human life on which the newspaper depends for that interest which so reacts on its many functions that it lives and has influence.

WHAT'S THE NEWS?

CHAPTER I.

High Speed Literature

Accelerated literature must be produced by organized authorship.

Both as an individual and collective product, it is a daily literary picture of the world. Though this picture is of a short space of fleeting time and changing actors, its word-colors must be blended in the light of the accumulated knowledge of centuries.

The news story cannot merely be photographic. It must have those line- and color-values that portray living persons and not busy automatons. There must be keen perception and there must be artistic portrayal.

The newspaper writer, unlike the novelist, does not create either character or situations, nor does he control them. Yet his people

must live and breathe. This effect must be obtained under limitations of time imposed on no other artist. To no living creature are the limits of time and space so real as to the newspaper man or woman. A miniature or a colossal canvas may be the metier demanded, and time always presses.

While the newspaper product does not have the scope of the whole literature of a race or a period, at any given day, yet a story may reach either around the corner or around the world, either into a coal mine or deal with new data on the measurement of the sun.

Newspaper men themselves often have mistaken their functions. The function of the reporter as a mere transcriber of the world's daily proceedings often has been proclaimed, not merely as a technical necessity, but as an ethical ideal.

It is interesting to recall how the artist in humanity has triumphed from the Cromagnon caves to the offices of the Associated Press on Chambers street, New York. The "A. P."

story of the great prize fight at Reno, Nevada, and that of the burial of the Unknown Soldier in Washington are striking examples.

While the spirit and keenness or dullness of every writer is reflected in every story he writes for the newspapers, so also the spirit of each newspaper institution colors every story. Perhaps no newspaper writer ever wrote a story so personal as that contained in Oscar Wilde's "Ballad of Reading Gaol," yet no good story of a hanging today escapes the influence of that model.

"Complex" just now is the fashionable word to define a specific human impulse or interest. The pet complexes in the menageries of the psychologists are hunger, sex, and herd. Newspaper men long have had a triple classification of news interest based on the themes of money, love and religion.

To be more specific and probably more enlightening, news interest as disclosed by the world in review as it tumbles day or night upon the copy desk from wires, cables, hot

from the reporter's typewriters, or cooler from the mails, seems to be summed up thus:

Life and Death.
Desire for Amusement.
CURIOSITY.
Ambition and Cupidity.
Wealth and Poverty.
Religious Hope.
Generosity and Stinginess.
Honesty and Dishonesty.
Heroism and Fear.

The growth and prosperity of a newspaper depends on its success in the treatment of those themes and the public response to them at varying times. Every new method is experimental and is aimed to attain greater public favor or to reach a portion of the public previously indifferent or ignored.

The changing character of the preponderance of the news at any time reflects the changes in public mentality and conduct and reveals the inner forces of history. Democracy demands different news emphasis than

that favored in a court gazette. The currents of public thought change, and theories that once would have brought the torture or the faggot now bring public acclaim, curiosity or at worst, indifference.

To please one section of the public, to present any view, to allow any set of men and women a voice in a newspaper, to give any cause a hearing, is to arouse foes and to invite abuse, as well as to gain friends. A newspaper cannot be a jellyfish conforming in shape to every transient pressure. The vitality of the press as a record of human life is the fact that it transmits controversy with the warmth of human breath still upon it, history while the hearts of its chief actors, prominent and obscure, still beat. The press is to the social fabric what blood is to the human body.

Nor can the newspaper print only news—the record of things that have happened. People insist on attempting to foresee the future and to undo such work of the past as they regard as unfavorable to them. Men and women

in politics and forum attempt to play those prophetic roles that among the Greeks and Romans were performed by sybils, oracles or the flight and livers of birds. The modern forecasters' messages are little if any clearer.

So newspapers print political platforms, rumors, charges and counter-charges, the clamors of opposing schools of economics and the rumblings of the ancient quarrel between religion and knowledge. The newspapers present the conjectures of psychology and sociology, behavioristics and criminology, comic sections and cross-word puzzles, brain dusters and memory torturers, fashion designs and patterns, advice to the lovelorn, and the latest way to become slender and still eat chocolate creams.

The newspapers carry clerical thunder against the scanty nature of women's dress on one page, while on another appears the word that the dernier cri from Paris is for women not to wear stockings. The mourning of the corset makers and the applause of the athletic directors appear perhaps on the same page.

The newspapers take the puny youth out on the gridiron, running track, baseball diamond, with his favorite heroes. On the mystic pages the soda clerk associates with the big leaguers until he knows what they eat and how much they weigh, until he is the worshipper of one man and the merciless critic and contemner of another. The youth in the over-feminized environment can be a vicarious gangster, the henpecked husband can fancy himself Valentino, the boarding-house drudge can depict herself as Mae Murray—and all for two or three cents.

Indifference only will kill a newspaper. By partisans and by enemies—as long as they be readers—it lives. The newspapers of today are better, not worse, than those of the past. They are better—the normal ones—than were their dads and grand dads. When their parentage is carried back far, they have ancestors like the Spectator of Addison and Steele which mainly taught manners, with Greek and Latin sauce, or the work of the gutter scrib-

blers. The latter were for sale to all men. They were useful for the bitterness of their pens as skunks are for the beauty of their fur.

It was not regarded as out of the way to compare a fat British lord with the gout to Phoebus Apollo and his sweetie to Venus. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there was a camaraderie among men of talent, because the state of public education was so low that men must have literary guardians. Writers had to eat and they were not above blacking boots and reputations to do it. The sturdy quality of Dr. Samuel Johnson in calling down a noble lord instead of giving a servile dedication became a classic, not only for his, but for later times. It was a scandal in an age when men of wealth kept poets and writers if they preferred them to dogs.

Let the clerical critics of the modern press look to that Golden Age of Letters when children were hanged for stealing a yard of cloth and many colonial families, since prominent, were being founded by the love affairs of un-

happy indentured servants, sold for a period of years to wealthy men in America.

It is human to resent facts. It is human to think, not that one grows old and wrinkled, but that the mirror lies. It is human to think, even vehemently to insist, that the present press and pulpit, courts and theaters, people and government are the happy and consoling myths of a Golden Age That Never Was.

CHAPTER II.

Crime

Crime is the most interesting of all news themes—judged by circulation gains and popular interest.

One is tempted to say "Crime is great, and the circulation manager is its prophet"— because the people, who buy the newspapers, confer that role upon him.

Rural crime, that never gets into the metropolitan press, is the leading topic of village discussion.

Managing editors and news-boys love a good crime story.

When some criminal rises superior to his native habitat and splashes a streak of art in his gory daub, whole city staffs are thrilled.

Hamlet and Macbeth stand out in the Shakespearean series. Ham actors dream of enacting the role of the Prince of Denmark. Little boys

used to hide the precious Jesse James books in the hay loft. Their sons applaud Pearl White in "Plunder," and shriek with glee before the westerns, in which the film is smeared with blood.

The most sensational newspapers are less sensational than their readers. Strive as they may to tickle Demos, the mechanical and economic limitations on newspaper space are such that they constitute one of the least sensational forms of letters. Per thousand ems of type or pounds of paper, they run less to crime and tragedy than most of the great classics. Addressing a gathering of Chicago ministers, Col. Robert R. McCormick, editor of the Tribune, said: —

"Newspaper editors come from the ranks of the normally educated. The first newspapermen's minds were molded by the prevailing education. Newspapers have not altered the standard. Our earliest instruction, be it religious or otherwise, is filled with marvels. I trust no one will misunderstand if I draw atten-

tion to those features of the Bible which stand out in every man's memory how great or how little a reader of the Scriptures he may be: the Creation, the Flood, the drunkenness of Noah; the Plagues; the death of Absalom; David and Bathsheba; the thousand wives of Solomon; the Immaculate Conception; the Miracles; the Crucifixion; the Resurrection; the adventures of St. Paul. Entering the realm of great poems what more sensational than Paradise Lost, than Dante's Inferno? Were the Greek tragedies sensational? Literature other than scientific and economic literature is founded upon sensation, and what is more sensational than aviation and radio, or the redemption of mankind by issuing silver money? Others than journalists made a sensation of Darwin's dry tomes."

As the cost of publishing has increased and the volume of crime has increased, the proportion of all crime that wins a place in the news has waned until it is less than one-half of one per cent. in the larger dailies.

Crime of course is subject to the same limitations of interest by distance as other news. The interest in a murder varies with the distance from the reader, and this distance may be measured by social stratification as well as statute miles. In a small town every petty theft is worth notice because a large number of readers know the thief. A New York murder is of more news value in Cincinnati than a similar crime in Pueblo, Colorado, because more Cincinnati readers know about New York or are conscious of some sort of relation to New York. The small community crimes must be exceedingly atrocious, picturesque or mysterious to get space in metropolitan newspapers. The large number that do win first page position is testimony to the intense quality of rural life—a refutation of the thesis of Main Street and similar bucolic fiction.

In the city racial lines often act as news barriers. Negro and Italian black hand crimes, unless accompanied by an unusual feature in motive or execution, come to be viewed collec-

tively, and as a result they lose interests as all routine things must do in time. The spindle on which rejected news stories are impaled in the city room is the fate of most of these crimes.

However, there are times when an inconsequential crime wins a place in the news merely because of its collective aspect—if it is a part of a "wave" it will very likely win notice, when it would be ignored entirely if occurring at another time.

A negro murder in Memphis, Tennessee, a city in which the deaths by violence for a month have been known to exceed the deaths from disease, is ordinarily worth two agate lines as a filler at the end of a column. The shooting of a husband by a disgruntled wife is sheer commonplace in most cities.

In the spring of 1914, however, the newspapers in Memphis published details of every husband killing, because a lady executioner led off with a very picturesque job in bed and advanced a unique defense, for that time. Her

enterprise seems to have pulled the emotional trigger in a number of wifely brains and for a time the slaughter of husbands competed in interest with the contemporary casualties at Vera Cruz and the Ludlow massacre in Colorado. Soon the ladies were designated as "marks-women" Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., and the imitative genius of the Negro race which leads it to copy the white man's stuff and give it a flair all its own produced a number of male casualties that would ordinarily have been buried under small heads. Murder stepped from grand opera to rag-time in short order.

One crime stimulates interest in other crimes. It is possible that the publication of some crime stories may suggest the commission of other offenses — but on the other hand it is only the aroused consciousness of society that can check a crime wave. The idea that the suppression of crime news would lessen crime, ignores the fact that newspapers are by no means the only method for the dissemination of information. However flattering it may be to the newspapers

to be so considered, it is a fact that they have never superseded the gossip and the grape-vine telegraph.

Anyone who recalls the wide-spread rumors of German spy activities and atrocities, of treason, of misconduct in high places at Washington and the wild stories of great victories by the allies in June, 1918, none of which appeared in the newspapers, because they were untrue, must be aware that a rumor can travel by ticker wire from coast to coast in a few minutes. The speed with which unprintable and unmailable jests, verse and alleged anecdotes about prominent men cover the country shows that news and rumors, which are not news, still travel by word of mouth in the same mysterious manner in which news spreads all over India and China in a few days. The speed of information so transmitted has been calculated to be about that of the spread of cholera, small pox or influenza, which used to travel from Moscow to Paris faster than the journey could be made by ordinary modes of travel. In America today,

with hundreds of amateur radio broadcasters, with the air mail, with the long distance telephone in constant use from sea to sea, the transmission of information regardless of the newspapers is almost as fast as the service of press associations.

In Chicago after the Loeb-Leopold murder and also after the conviction of the two degenerates, stories of the mutilation of the victim, which did not happen, and of the circumstances of their escaping the noose, spread over the entire city in a day. The only effect of deliberate suppression of crime news by the papers would be to increase the volume of such reports, to magnify their disturbing and terrifying effect and finally to increase the suggestive power of one crime on the brain incubating another.

At the same time, the antiseptic and corrective effect of the printed page would be destroyed. News in itself is one of the most important of social controls. The fear of print is frequently a matter for amused contemplation by newspaper men, who, being nearer the mys-

terious founts of publicity, are inclined to that contempt which comes from familiarity.

The man, who cannot help being aware that his fellow citizens know all about certain of his peccadillos, will strive desperately to keep a story out of the papers.

The whole neighborhood may know that he and his wife are not getting on well together, but as long as it is not printed, he faces the neighbors with assurance.

The most sensational newspapers probably function as the most Puritanical guardians of appearances, if not morals. In Denver many a reportorial probe of a divorce proceeding reveals the fact that the wife had threatened her husband with a set of "red head-lines in the Post." The subjection of men by women has been largely accomplished by lawyers who draw divorce bills with the avowed object of making the charges so sensational, that they will make the papers and thus secure advertising for the law firm.

Crime presents itself to the newspaper in other aspects than that of mere news or human interest. It is a social symptom and the investigation of crime stories has frequently revealed sociological phenomena which have made good stories of urban uplift and resulted in constructive reforms. The morals courts, juvenile courts—the whole apparatus of the social uplift, official and private, are in no small degree fruits of the labor of forgotten police reporters who explored social abysses long before the clergyman, statesman or philanthropist appears even to have been aware of their existence. The same police reporters have frequently had to re-explore the decadent uplift later on —to reveal the abuses and waste of organized charity, to cauterize with the hot iron of publicity the fungus growths of bureaucracy that have grown up about sociological enterprises.

Crime as a social symptom suggests optimism as well as gloom. The American people seem to have been having the heebie jeebies over the volume of violent crime in recent years. Prob-

ably they had better turn their attention to the increase of crimes of stealth and the decay of commercial morality, as is shown in arson, cancellation of contracts, fradulent bankruptcy and securities swindling. In many respects the volume of murder and banditry since the war is an indication of surplus national virility rather than of social decay. How could any other result have been expected? America had a frontier up to the late nineties at least. That frontier was a safety valve—an outlet for the energies of the unsocialized types, who function in a new country as pioneers, but frequently fall afoul of the law in older settled communities. The same kind of young men who formerly went to Texas, Colorado or Alaska now go to the great cities. They formerly were present when new commonwealths were born. They now crowd to the birth of new industries like automobiles, movies or radio. The boys from the corn belt, the southern hills or the eastern villages meet about these great factory centers the picked youth of the Balkans, of the Medi-

terranean and Baltic littorals. Just as this great ferment was beginning, a prohibitory measure shut off another great social safety valve—alcohol. The saloon has been called a breeding place of crime, but another view is that it was a place where many crimes evaporated into drinking bouts. For one brawl there were probably fifty friendly souses. As a center where the unattached male could gratify his social impulses, it was perhaps a crude improvisation, but no substitute has appeared.

Much of the violent crime today is but a social inversion of the pioneering, conquering and exploiting instincts which made this country. It may be social blasphemy to compare such sordid expressions of that spirit to the violent exploits of our ancestors, but the truth is that our ancestors probably would have seemed pretty sordid to a contemporary observer.

Mr. Arthur Evans, in a recent investigation of Eastern bootlegging, makes this interesting observation:

"Boston, Mass., June 26 (1925). Rock bound New England at present is accounted the wettest spot in America. Rum and the American revolution, this season, it appears to the observing traveller, are the two great magnets for the touring traffic. In drawing-efficiency they seem to run 50-50. The motorists are fortified by a premonition that thirsts can be slaked at almost any resort-center along the route.

"The subterranean money from the booze racket this year seems to be bringing scads more money into New England than are the sale of post cards and souvenirs of America's sacred historical spots and the sight-seeing tours to the scenes of the fight for freedom.

"At Gloucester, the old whaling and codfish port, where the world's fleetest schooners were built, the drinking part of the population, largely of revolutionary and colonial stock, has refused to be sanctified by Mr. Volstead and his law. They always were a lot of two-fisted drinkers. Federal agents caught the two leading bootleggers of Gloucester and sent them to

Atlanta. They recently got out of the pen and the Gloucester folks met them at the station with a brass band. Such is the response sumptuary legislation meets in one of the cradle-of-liberty states. Men in intimate touch with the intricacies of politics and rum declare that all along this rock-bound coast the sympathies of the sea-faring natives are with the runners. They refuse generally to give assistance to the authorities."

There was a great deal of truth in the old fashioned idea that a "live town" must be a "wide open" town. It is still true that a virile, growing city is very likely to have a high rate of crimes of violence. The city which will attract constructive energy attracts the other kind also — and both forms are frequently found in the same individual. It is the writers' observation, that even today what is known to newspaper men as a good "police" town — is a progressive, advancing city. Contrast the rate of growth of Chicago and Philadelphia. Neither was ever considered a spotless town, but Phila-

delphia crime was more quiet—more allied to sophisticated vice than to frontier violence.

The city of Memphis with its unprecedented murder rate is a point where southern, western and eastern types of culture converged in the presence of vast virgin forests and raw resources of all kinds. The cotton bales arriving from the new cleared lands of the Delta were met by the Chicago gamblers arriving for the winter killings. The poker limits were high when the cotton crop commanded a good price, and the prosperity of the lumber industry was evidenced by the number of harlots who came in to fleece the lumber bosses and lumber jacks. Crimes involving sex intrigue, however, appear to increase as the rate of urban growth slackens. As Denver has neared the limit of population imposed by its potential water supply, the picturesque violence of its days as a mining and then a cattle town has declined, but sexual crimes have increased.

Crime news is in large part linked with news of the development of the gang system in city

life. The two things are closely related, but have different aspects. Not all gang activity is related to crime, and only a small part of crime is related to the gang system. The gang system is merely a phase of social evolution. In the ages when the Roman authority was dissolving, men, frightened by the social dissolution all about, instinctively attached themselves to strong leaders. From that feudalism arose. The growth of the gang system presents striking parallels. As American cities have grown, the original scheme of government and jurisprudence which grew out of rural colonial conditions and the traditions of a homogeneous race has become inadequate. The common law never has been urbanized—it fits neither urban conditions nor the instincts of the more urban races which have in large measure supplanted the North Europeans. Even if the newcomers are from the backward villayets of the former Ottoman Empire, they are primarily group folk—from village communities of a social type,

which has not been changed for thousands of years.

Whether they preserve these relations among themselves or, like the country boy coming to town, plunge individually into the urban mass, they soon find the need of other contacts. They are no longer braced and shored up either by a European or a rural American social system. The city is so vast—its government so far removed and so intricate—its courts so mystifying, technical and expensive—that there is need of something nearer, something more effective. Out of these conditions, and to meet this demand, arises the gang and its leader—just as gangs have arisen from similar conditions in all ages. Great empires, nations and dynasties had similar origins.

Of course, there is one legal institution with which the lowliest city dweller is in rather intimate contact—potential at any rate—the police. Therefore the gang system develops a complicated set of relations to this institution

varying from virtual absorption and control to embattled enmity.

Gang economics and politics are a fascinating study. Historic parallels surprise and delight the investigator. City politics, for instance, tends to become a matter of alliances, war and balance of power, like the international politics of Europe. In the relation of suburban and neighborhood banking to the gang system, we already have a hint of something like international finance. It affects realty promotion. The motorization of the gangs and the growth of the road house suggest national territorial expansion. City wide organizations for the federation and control of gangs such as Tammany, recall the role of the Church in feudal Christendom.

As readers of Alfred Henry Lewis's fascinating gang stories are aware, in some cities gangs develop definite territorial boundaries, and diplomatic relations of exceeding formality with each other. Everywhere the gang system is colored and affected by urban geographical

conditions and by race and nationality. Types of organization—some primarily territorial, some based on personal leadership, some arising from the nature of the membership, some imposed from above like Tammany leaderships—all suggest the interesting social welter of the Middle Ages, as depicted in any good study like Emerton's Medieval Europe. Some gang leaders are dukes of the dark ages— deriving their power from prowess in tribal leadership. Others are counts nominated by whatever Emperor of that particular "Holy Roman Empire" may then rule. The relations of the gangs to the mayor and formal city government suggest strikingly that of the Dukes of Burgundy to the King at Paris. Some of the relations of the gang system to crime recall the medieval baron who had to maintain a large number of men at arms to protect his peasants and to consolidate his power.

Maintenance of these gunmen is a problem of raising revenue. Perhaps they may be farmed out to some industrial magnate in a strike war.

But with the creation of a vast new source of wealth as the result of prohibition, an opportunity came to many gangs and their leaders comparable to those rare opportunities opened up by Columbus to Cortez, Pizarro, and later to Sir Henry Morgan and buccaneers. At the same time, the advent of the motor enabled the gangs to motorize their armed forces and supplied them with swift wheeled cruisers for the pursuit of whatever galleons they might desire to plunder. Crime has already taken to the air — preceding commercial aviation in this country.

The gang system has developed a most interesting set of contacts with organized labor. Many of the older unions of highly skilled men are as remotely connected with the gang system as they are with the government of Mars. Others are controlled by gang leadership. Application of gang tactics to old unions by strong leaders has created a gang system, within a large part of organized labor, which bears the same relation to the official labor organizations

that the gang system does to nominal city governments.

Other labor unions are mere creations of gangsters, who chose that form of organization as the best mode of integrating a following and providing revenues either by dues or blackmail. In many legitimate unions the holding of leadership has come to depend either upon the maintenance of a strong arm gang or through the revenues derived from industrial blackmail.

Other gangster labor leaders in order to pay their men at arms are led into rum and beer running as a side line. These men may be sincerely trying to advance the cause of labor at the same time. The crusaders on their way to rescue the Holy Sepulcher from the paynim saw nothing incongruous in stopping over to loot Christian Constantinople. Against the growth of this system the efforts to resuscitate the official government, to put vitality into legalism, to make the courts and our criminal jurisprudence the actual government—real

dispensers of justice and arbiters of men's disputes — makes but slow progress, if any.

Whatever ground is gained is almost entirely due to the newspapers and their publication of crime news. In fact, it is only that which gangsters fear to any extent. Judges and prosecutors fear it too. Mere publication and editorial comment do not measure the extent of the newspaper's activity. Most newspapers have a double röle. They strive to restore vitality to the formal government and to modernize and adapt historic political machinery and forms to modern life. But they also function as factors in the unofficial government by balance of power among interests, groups and institutions. They are themselves extra governmental agencies of social control, and to that extent partake of the extra legal attributes of the very gangs they combat.

Newspaper reporters are the real detectives of America. They unravel crime mysteries which official incompetence or unwillingness to penetrate would leave unsolved. They probe

the ramifications of the gang system in search of good stories.

Newspapers often dictate the nomination of district attorneys or judges and then strive to make them fulfil their pre-election promises. Many municipal cleanups are the result of a newspaper's search for news and determination to punish officials who try to withhold it.

The writers recall one instance in which two editors, subjected to a boycott on news from the court house, ordered two criminal judges and a district attorney to resign. One judge complied. They then commanded the governor to call an extra session of the legislature and impeach the others. It was done. On another occasion one of these editors told the district attorney to arrest a defaulting banker, whose bank the editor knew had extended favors to the prosecutor. When he demurred he was told that he had one hour in which to comply, and a reporter would be sent to see that the district attorney's personal detective

made the arrest. The arrest was made and the millionaire defaulter did time.

Such instances are, of course, exceptional, and no newspaper man likes to employ any such direct methods. It is only in the case of a desperate fight that such things are done. But no view of the newspaper would be complete without a glance at its extraordinary powers and its police and war-like functions. A complete newspaper should have its own private police. Private armaments and private war are a phase of American life that did not disappear with the frontier. Every big transportation and industrial corporation has its own private protective system. The prophylactic effect of newspaper publicity on court procedure is evidenced by the contrast between rural and city juridical results.

It is only a generation and a half since public executions were the principal form of tragic entertainment to the majority of Americans. Criminal trials were a great show. The farmers from the whole county thronged the court-

house. The people demanded a good performance. They greeted the efforts of the lawyers as a crowd cheers a dog fight, a chicken fight or a battle of fast-stepping light-weights in the roped arena. Legal procedure was affected by this demand for display and combat. The forensic habits of the American bar were fixed by it. But on the whole the administration of justice substantially was accomplished.

Contrast the urban court house. Hundreds of thousands of the people do not even know where it is. Scores of courts are in continuous session. The dockets always are over crowded. The court rooms are small, because of the high cost of land. Unless the crime is striking, privacy is assured by the sheer influence of mass and numbers. The machinery of justice is so vast and complicated that there are many weak links, places where the gears can be slipped or greased too much. The gang system encrusted about the official machinery supplies the means for this work. The only real protection to the public against the corruption of the

fountains of justice is the residuary honesty of judges and officers, and the fear that at any minute some great black headline across a front page may flare forth and turn thousands of eyes upon the tampering hand.

Crime can be reduced in America, almost to the vanishing point. It can be done by assuming that any and every citizen is a potential criminal, to be kept under constant surveillance. Every citizen can be registered by the police and movement from one city to another, even a casual business trip or shopping excursion, recorded on pain of punishment. A spy might be placed in every home. Every citizen might be subjected to psychoanalysis weekly to see that no crime was being contemplated. Every citizen might be X-rayed every ten days to see that the ductless glands were not lying in wait to make him or her a criminal.

All forms of self-government would disappear; all private life would disappear — everyone would be a gold fish, whose globe was surrounded by electric lights. Life would be one

detective after another. Snoopers would watch sniffers; sniffers would watch snoopers; every casual friend would be a psychic stool pigeon. There would be no immigration problem—it would change to one of emigration.

CHAPTER III.

Politics

"Vigilance is the price of liberty". That is a pretty phrase, and the general experience is that it is easier to induce men to die for their country than it is to get them to think for it. If they do not think, they cannot be vigilant. Government based on popular suffrage can only be a fact when its people are alive to their needs and interests.

The average urban American, however, is better informed about sports than about politics. The average newspaper editor probably has discovered that of all his pages, those dealing with sports are most closely read. Perhaps there is one exception, it may be that the traders in stocks and bonds, grains and provisions read the market pages with as much attention.

If those two postulates are right, the Romans

had the prescription of government: "Food and the circus."

Perhaps — the question never has been put — the modern man would consent to leaving the election of legislative or administrative officials to be determined by the fortunes of a ball team. In that way politics would be followed closely by the voters, that mass of outsiders that imagines it governs.

As things now are, however, the professional politician is necessary and his occupation is not discreditable. Like the successful business man he must be a specialist not only in his own line, but in human nature. Otherwise, he must be able to group men about him who are trained and efficient along these lines.

The people of a democracy suffer from an inferiority complex. Therefore they continually must be flattered. The people who constitute an aristocracy have a superiority complex and demand flattery as a right. Democracy unconsciously recalls that it has been called the "great unwashed" and the "sans culotte."

Therefore it must insist that it use the most soap and that it wear the best clothes. If the reproach that they are "the mob" be recalled, that penchant of Democracies to oppress themselves will be easy to understand.

The professional politician is a person who knows that though you may refine the adjustments of mechanical parts to the one thousandth part of an inch, governmental machinery never has, never can and never will reach that state. The professional politician knows that he can win the approbation of the professionally good people by assisting in the enactment of "impossible laws". He can hold another lever of power by mitigating the administration of such laws to those whose exigencies demand that they infringe upon them.

The fiction which democracy has inherited from monarchy, that child of the absurdity of mediaeval scholasticism, is that government is mainly law, while every practical politician, from Nicollo Machiavelli to the smallest ward boss, knows that it is a matter of administra-

tion. It is a question not of fat books on shelves, but of people in cities, towns and on farms. The reverence for statutes and courts followed the stripping of the royal robes from a puppet and placing them on a philosophic abstraction, begat of desire for liberty and ignorance of how to get it.

If the law came first from God as commandments, and God gave people their king, to say nothing of their clergy, and the people were ill-treated, the obvious thing was to get the law-making in the people's hands. Then all would be made right. That is the basis of the blind faith in legislation that fills the American statute books with laws and fills the newspapers with stories of their evasions or violations.

All parts of a modern democracy are not on the same level. They are not on the same level of anthropology, even, and certainly not of sociology. Modern democratic government is a highly complex thing. It involves the expenditure of billions of dollars and touches the lives of millions of men, women and children.

Thus government demands professional training. The universities' departments of political science may cry out for a certain type of professional politician, but the types that appear are those who come from environment as naturally as a tree comes from the soil.

The newspaper man, coming in contact with the professional politician, the uplifter, the immigrant, the bootlegger, the business man, seldom, at least in his own mind, has dissociated business and politics. Seldom also has the business man appeared as a political savior. The professional politician often is a business man on the side. Sometimes the business man roves in and out of politics, but when successful he acts not as a business man, but as a politician. The expensive nature of an amateur enthusiasm for politics has been brought home to many a man who has only dabbled in politics. There is nothing in business ethics, as the newspaper encounters them, that indicates that the business man will purify politics by a time clock and the "hire and fire" system.

The late Fred A. Busse, whose pre-election statement was that his speech-making ability was limited to "Not guilty" and "What will you have?", who was kept off the rostrum in Chicago by a lucky railroad accident and a discrete doctor, had the backing of the business community. His ex-convict protege, Bernard P. Bertesche, ran a saloon, known as "the little city hall," almost next door to where the affairs of the city were administered, in a building under temporary occupancy. Busse was made mayor of Chicago, but Prof. Charles Edward Merriam, an expert on taxation, could not be elected.

Politics not only is government, but it is a trough in which there is not enough to feed all those whose eager noses lead them thither. Politics has a side which may be called practical or "seamy", according to one's understanding of history rather than to one's code of morals.

Self interest produces that cohesion of minorities that always has made them powerful. A

party's character is no more revealed by its candidates than a man's is by his dress suit. A ticket is window dressing. In a cosmopolitan city it must be so balanced that no racial group of voting strength will go to the opposition for failure of "recognition." The science of ready-to-vote politics has been developed as well and with as much style as has that of ready-to-wear clothing.

Any newspaperman of three years' experience—some city offices become vacant every two years—has seen a "front" put on a ticket and has heard that a candidate is going into office "unpledged" and with "no strings tied to him." The reporter has been told so by the spokesman of the group that holds the strings.

The law of politics, as of life, is judicious compromise. It matters not whether it is a George Washington seeking after the revolution a closer rapprochement with England than with France, or whether the heads of two party machines meet to arrange that one party shall have the county and the other the city offices.

Whenever one party feels strong enough to overwhelm another, it will do so, but the dictators of its strategy desire victories that shall not be too expensive. A mobile and controllable reserve of voters is as valuable in politics as a reserve in battle.

The principle of politics is either barter or sale. Lucky is the man who finds it one of sale where everything is "marked in plain figures", and he knows just at what cost he can sit in the game. In cities there will be crime, there will be prostitution, there will be gambling.

While the microscope has not revealed the parasitic life in politics with the universality with which it has appeared elsewhere in nature, the newspaper man knows that such life is abundant. The newspaper man knows that there are professional crime and casual crime, just as well as the sociologist knows that there are professional prostitution and casual irregularities.

The newspaper man also knows that while the isolated criminal may find that "the way of

the transgressor is hard", the organized criminal travels an easier road. The newspaper man also knows why moralistic appeals to the professional criminal and prostitute, for the most part, must be of no avail. Such appeals are not based on society as those persons know it to be. They find it plentiful in grafters, fences for stolen goods, cops with itching palms, lawyers with glue on their fingers, bondsmen of rapacity and little or no property, politicians ready to "front" for a "right guy" for a price.

To talk to them of society's rights and morals, is like asking a man to pattern his conduct after the presumption of the customs of Martians.

"Human beings, and such human beings", once said James Hamilton Lewis, Chicago's most dapper politician, after expressing the delight he felt at swaying a county convention of his party.

Politics is real and politics is earnest. Tammany Hall knows it, university men like the late Boise Penrose, honor man of Harvard, as

well as Chicago's "Bathhouse" John Coughlin, now a fire insurance magnate in the world's richest ward, know it.

On his visit to America, Rudyard Kipling, scarcely naive, wrote of seeing some legislative activity in an American city and then viewing a meeting in a backroom of a saloon where business really was done.

It was a tradition in Chicago that the bottles of champagne on the tables—and it has not been recalled that many ever fell under them,—at the famous series of "First Ward" balls were counted afterwards and that their sources paid the protection money for Chicago's south side red-light district, the most pretentious in the city.

It is an open secret that the police of a city as well as being a force for law and order, are a political club as real as the hard-wood stick which the patrolmen carry on beats.

The system of rewards and punishments, the oldest principle of government, useful alike to theocracy, oligarchy, monarchy, and democ-

racy is a commonplace of politics. "Order" always has been considered of more import than "law". "Disturbance" always has been punishable in a king's palace or on a policeman's beat. For things can be winked at when not "open and notorious", as the law has it.

In other words, the occasional dereliction is permitted but, as all societies live in subconcious fear of disintegration, just as all persons live in subconscious fear of death, when the tolerances of practical politics have gone "too far", something has to be done about it. Sometimes, resounding talk, useful in every era, suffices, sometimes there is real effort called for. Sometimes real trouble follows, but the doctrines of a democracy and of practical politics is: "That government governs best that governs least".

While a heavily loaded public payroll is essential to the modern political machine, and while bureau follows bureau with haste that suggests spontaneous generation, the politician knows that there is a limit. The voters must not be

irritated to the point of giving ear to the opposition and bring about that worst of calamities, the replacement of office holders.

The newspaper realizes that the two-party method brings about the more orderly government, under our system of "checks and balances". It also realizes that in some instances a "knock is a boost". While the press, as well as the politician, knows the value of a "crusade", and the adroit politician will throw out a supporter who has become a public liability, to a great extent political loyalties are more tenacious than one would expect.

The wise newspaper editor recalls that his paper, with luck, will survive many changes in national, state and local administration. His contact with popular opinion will lead him rather to go along with his readers than to attempt to lead them. Perhaps he may sense, and if so he has editorial genius, some popular current of thought about to be expressed; he picks it up in the murmur stage and expresses it with

pungency. Then his paper rides into favor with it.

The advantage of being the crest of such a wave is noticeable in the field of literature with Shakespeare and in politics with Theodore Roosevelt. Shakespeare's adoptive genius, a genius with which, in the words of Moliere in a like case, "I take my own wherever I find it", was comparable with the manner in which Roosevelt could possess himself of the popular cause. A man of blunt exterior and adroit mind, writing to Edward H. Harriman, "we both are practical men", getting along with and denouncing bosses at the same time, Roosevelt had in the fullest measure the virtues of the professional politician. He applied a mind of unusual aggressive and absorptive power to problems which were obsessing the public mind.

The problems of monopoly presented nothing new. They had been granted by kings to the companies that settled the American colonies. The principle had been used by the British East India Company, and by the Com-

pany of Gentlemen Adventurers Trading Into Hudson Bay. Domestic monopolies had been granted by the Stuarts to certain nobles. The British had attempted to confine the carrying trade of the American colonies to British ships. That series of laws had made John Hancock, rich Boston merchant, a smuggler under British law, and later a leader in the American Revolution.

Roosevelt's talent, that of the trained writer, for the popular phrase, the insurance scandals in New York, the clamor for different control of insurance companies, for different rate structures on the railroads, all contributed to a situation on top of which Roosevelt was well fitted to retain his place. America was to enter the Golden Age.

Such another period of mental exaltation came with America in the world war. After the war there was to be a "better world." The world was to be safe for Democracy. The lessons of the war were to be taken to heart and such a calamity never could happen again.

POLITICS

In 1925, a disillusioned America, immeasurably better off than all the rest of the world, complained over high prices for gasoline and blamed the great amount of crimes of violence on the war. Yet the burdens of poverty are greater for those still poor, because of the higher cost of all the necessities of life.

In Illinois, Governor Len Small has shown, by the appointment of certain men to public office, his gratitude at his escape from a penitentiary sentence, while in Indiana, Ex-Governor Warren McCray is about eligible to parole from prison.

Woman suffrage which has been in force for several years has had its chief results in putting women into legislative offices, and on political committees, thus giving them recognition that only is accorded to voters. The great fundamental changes which the strongest advocates of suffrage promised, or at least predicted with assurance, have not arrived. The professional politicians and newspaper men did not expect that they would.

What the women will do with the fundamentalist issue in politics remains to be seen. That they will be an active force in imposing such legislation seems doubtful. The improvement of the conditions of women in society and daily life has come more from the electrical and other mechanical laboratories than from the pastoral study.

The number of women who wear Phi Beta Kappa keys also argues against the chance that the existence of Nathan F. Leopold, Jr. and Richard Loeb will be regarded by women as bugaboos to lead people back to the ages of simplicity. Such persons as Loeb and Leopold then existed in ample measure, sometimes in places of great responsibility where they kept the torturers and executioners busy.

The newspaper, often the instrument of political change which sometimes means political improvement, has a manifold outlook on politics. It has its favorites among the candidates, picked for a variety of motives, and it supports them. Sometimes the support is given

from conviction, sometimes from hope or promise or pledge of favors, sometimes because of the facts that owners, editors or stockholders belong most strongly to a particular political group. Sometimes a paper merely will take the popular side.

Newspapers have undertaken crusades like reduction of the price of gas or street car fares, municipal ownership of lighting plants or street cars, reform of police departments, closing of segregated vice districts, repeal or enforcement of "blue laws", programs for parks, bridges, good roads and other large public improvements. Others have based their campaign efforts on the appeal that their candidate is the "people's friend," while the opponent is the "creature of the interests."

Before the days of plentiful automobiles, the straphanger was a fruitful source of newspaper pennies and votes. In some states, where a railroad was powerful, or where a group of railroads was specially strong in a legislature, a

crusade against "railroad domination" was popular newspaper and political material.

"St. Georgeing" is great stuff, and an indefinite supply of dragons is a political essential and a newspaper blessing. Sometimes the rival railroad or rival utility to the one attacked can be made a source of political campaign funds. Sometimes mock attacks are made. What used to be known as "strike" legislation was a popular thing in certain legislative groups. A law affecting a certain industry was proposed. The industry became alarmed. The "champions of the people" would sell out and the thing would die in committee. Such had been its fate, ordained from the beginning.

All newspapers have a variety of political information which they cannot prove sufficiently to chance publication. Sometimes it comes to light as matter for a grand jury, sometimes it helps to make a prosecutor.

Politics rests on patronage. Its motto is "never do nothing for nobody what can't do nothing for you." But the politician's life is not

all "beer and skittles," as they used to say, before the U. S. suffered such a high degree of evaporation.

The professional politician gets the low down on human nature. The rich man, with a son or daughter in "an unfortunate scrape," comes to him. The friends of men and women openly accused of crime come to him. His phone is busy and his activities manifold.

Among the persons always wanting something from the politician or from the newspaper is the professional "tribalist", the person whose penchant is to be a professional Irishman, Jew, Briton, Swede, German, Pole, or member of any other national group that has large numbers in a city or state. There is the professional reformer, lay or clerical. Some of these men, whom the authors knew when they still held obscure pulpits or small business positions, have become, largely through newspaper publicity, national figures. Such men usually speak in a patronizing way of the newspapers and lament the fact that they are so sensational.

Of late years the public utilities have come under the control of state commissions. Even when protected in monopolies, they have given more heed to public favor. The old time lobbyist, who had a suite of rooms and lots of liquor and, when needed, "legal tender" when a legislature was in session or when city councils wrestled with weighty problems, has been evolved into a public relations man. "Service" and the "customer is right" have been found more profitable. Besides too many people own autos. Now such corporations send in press agent stories or buy advertising space and try their case before the bar of public opinion.

There no longer is a Roosevelt to talk about "malefactors of great wealth;" the magazines no longer print stories under such titles as "The Treason of The Senate," under which David Graham Phillips wrote; the issue now is whether Main Street is cultured and whether it is praise or reproach to be called a Babbit.

The automobile and the Volstead act, combining their influence on a thirsty world, have

made gangs of gunmen more mobile and efficient than in the old days. Still there probably is less ballot box stuffing and there is less fighting at the polls. There are more women as judges and clerks of election. It would not look well for a bunch of roughnecks to steal ballot boxes from a bunch of women. The auto to bring voters to the polls, such voters, that is, that are "right," while some others don't take an interest and stay away, is a safer and better way.

Besides now, it's necessary to play to the women and many of them give a new importance to the church vote.

Papers often are punished for the good they do. When they sometimes attack a candidate, a political gang or group that should be attacked, that person or group has friends among all classes who swear to the good name and general integrity of those attacked. People will read a newspaper and yet refuse to follow its political advice. They often think a paper is cynical or selfish. If it wisely presents both

sides in a campaign, it has the same difficulty as in a strike, being charged with lack of character and convictions.

Then, too, political platforms always contain clauses that cannot be fulfilled, some proposals that obviously are impossible, others that may be achieved in part. At best they are incantations to arouse public favor. While at first view, it may appear a detriment to a newspaper not to have those it indorses win a particular election, that fact often is a blessing in disguise. It is not the function of a newspaper to conduct a political administration, any more than it is its function to take over and operate any function of society other than that of getting out a newspaper.

It often is more difficult to stand sponsor for a "dud" or a crook in public office, merely to save a newspaper's face for having put him in, than it is to get and print the legitimate news or run a crusade or two.

Human credulity is a never failing political asset. Those who believe that law can crush

sin and error, naturally become political dupes. Thus the church vote can be kept politically divided and so prevent in American politics the influence of organized clericalism which is felt so strongly abroad. Seldom students of law or human nature, the church forces are not realists in politics. They act emotionally, denouncing or praising, but seldom measuring, easily depressed and as easily elated, relying strongly on "be it enacted," forgetting the lessons of history — including their own.

CHAPTER IV.

Sex

Sex will disappear from the news when the newspapers are written and read by Robots. Men and women and their problems as such always have been the theme of accelerated literature as of nearly all other sorts.

Only the beehive could achieve neuter art, while even that art would be influenced by the other two sexes resident in the hive. The interest men and women have in the fact that they are men and women, the intensity of the desires that lead to mating, temporary or permanent, are evidenced as much by the repression of such topics, as much by taboos, as by revels in the groves dedicated to Eros or to Venus.

That is why there have been cycles of prudery and cycles of expression of sex. In such times literature and the newspapers by their

silence or indirection have expressed it, perhaps in the least pure way.

The modes of expression have varied, but the interest has never disappeared. Every middle aged reporter and editor can recall the time when such interest was met by crusades against vice. A gray-bearded citizen once testified at a church meeting in Denver, "I get up an hour earlier in the morning to read those terrible exposures of vice in the Rocky Mountain News."

Divorce stories, murder trials, where women are the defendants, murder trials in which experts testify about the human being as a plaything of ductless glands, all these events testify that sex is of premier interest.

As sex affects the writing of literature, as it is interwoven in literature, as it is an element in all religion, the newspaper, bringing to the public a literature that grows out of daily life, often finds the sex interest foremost in reader interest. It is impossible to define the limits to which the sex instinct, its chivalry as much as

its lusts, its repression as much as its indulgence, influences human life.

With these general statements, it nevertheless is true that, as Don Marquis said of the movies, "It is sex o'clock in the newspapers." Perhaps the American people, for years under influences of prudery, have reached the extreme of their sex interest. Like every other crowd interest, cyclical in character, that in sex may decline. Probably the maximum of interest and frankness has been reached—perhaps passed for a time—but it will be a long time before the next Puritanical reaction obtains any decisive mastery.

What today, with the penchant for science, is called sex interest, is what is as old as literature, under the name of "love", or whatever our remote ancestors called it when they chattered in caves or gracefully and safely moved among the branches, secure from the saber-tooth tiger. There can be little doubt that the family of the man with one stone hatchet liked to hear about the life of the family with two

stone hatchets, a stone club and a cave, secure alike from beast and weather. That constituted a fairy story. Such was tradition and out of such was literature born.

War and love were the themes of Homer, war because of love was the story of the siege of Troy. Achilles sulked in his tent when deprived of a girl, whom he regarded as his share of the spoils of war.

Dressing that story in the garb of modern blurb, there will appear:

The Face That Launched A Thousand Ships;
War Fought, Heroes Slain

A City Razed And A People Made Homeless
All For The LOVE of A Fickle Queen,
The Most Beautiful Woman of Her
Era, Perhaps Of All Time

"Homer, the frankest of Greek raconteurs, has told this amazing story of the Revenge of King Menelaus! Mighty heroes die, and are dragged behind victors' chariots, while be-

reaved women, 'the deep bosomed dames of Troy,' look on, weep and pray for Revenge! You see Achilles sulk in his tent, because he has to give up a Beautiful Girl to a rival hero. You learn how the Very Gods Themselves, Engaged in INTRIGUES of LOVE, had a hand in this struggle. All this is told without reserve, as only Homer can tell it."

All that is needed is the name of the paper in which the story will appear serially and of the movie theatre where it later may be seen on the silver screen.

If the love interest were taken out of Greek mythology, there would be little left. There is a strong love element in the Egyptian story of Isis and Osiris. The love element is among the legends of the gods and goddesses of Hind, and it pervades the stories of heroes in almost all languages.

Satirized by dramatists, condemned, regulated or redefined by religious code and dogma, there is love interest all through literature.

So when the pulpit and the purity squads inveigh against the newspaper and its treatment of what this "biologic age" calls sex, it might be well to visit a library somewhere, look over the past a bit, and cool down. Nothing that the authors have seen either in the press or in recent fiction, would give much of a kick to "good Queen Bess," accustomed as she was to the sights of beheadings and quarterings, to certain sonnets of Shakespeare that treat of chastity as a futile accomplishment, to the Bard of Avon's "Venus and Adonis," whose realistic stanzas might be the envy of the most sexy modern dramatist.

The writing of the stories of criminal and divorce trials is better done in the current newspapers, as a rule, than it was in former years. More talent and more intelligence are employed. The characters in the stories have more validity. They are more written about than written at; the savage moralizing of the old-fashioned newspaper is seen less and less in the modern news columns.

SEX

The old-fashioned newspaper made much use of the words "shame" and "horror" and "scandal." Stories dealing with sex have been told in the American press for years, but far more brutally in the past. Sex was regarded as secret, if not anti-social, very often wrong, something by which the Devil worked his more subtle knaveries against the righteous.

The Thaw case represents the transition from the old method of treating such stories, a "rough house" police court treatment, or writing that smacked of super-human righteousness.

Then came the "sob sister", tears, sympathy, perhaps to the extent of verbal hysteria. Further development was attained by hiring noted novelists, scientists or near-scientists to write their interpretations into the narrative. In the better run of newspapers today, reporters, often college graduates, well trained in the use of English, well seasoned in the observation of life, present the story, as a story — not as a sermon — and they tell of human beings, not

Frankenstein monsters, or wooden Indians, highly painted.

A distinction is observable between the sex story of today and that of the early 90's, when the Hearst papers were earning their reputation as the premier purveyors of such narrative. Examination of the yellow journals of that time will disclose that the appeal to Laura Jean Libbey sentimentalism — the poor working girl or the distressed duchess of the sentimental ballads and nurse maid novels of that era — were reflected in the news of the day.

Change is undeniable when one contemplates the bobbed-hair bandit yarns or those about twinkling movie stars on page one today. In a short time the poor working girl, beset by villians, seeking to drag her to a fate "worse than death," while her poor and honest suitor with the assistance of Heaven contrived her rescue, has been changed into a dashing young creature who appears in million dollar dance halls and wants to fight her way into the Zeigfeld Follies, there to glorify the American Girl.

The lovely duchess, whose unrelenting father wanted to marry her into a family of shop-worn courtiers and grand dames, and who descended to work rather than yield her desire for a young and handsome lieutenant of Dragoons, has been replaced by the darling of the movies who sues her mamma for $1,000,000 back pay.

It would be interesting to compare the forces, economic, and mechanical, back of present society with those which brought the extremes of luxury and sex interest into the civilizations of Greece and Rome. In those older civilizations, human slaves were the foundation of luxury, while today the slaves are driven not by fear of the lash, but by the tireless forces of steam and electric current.

The young Leopold and Loeb, who excited such world interest that over 1,000 words of the story of their trial went nightly from Chicago to Australia, via Vancouver, scarcely would have been remarked on the streets or in the society of Rome or Athens. Two similar

youths are the dubious heroes of The Satyricon, which is attributed to Petronius. In the same work, Trimachlio, which some insist is the name under which Nero is lampooned, gives banquets that would make the most accomplished chef of today work and worry.

The story of William Desmond Taylor, the movie director slain in his Hollywood home, had the classical touch of effeminate luxury. Any metropolitan police reporter or other person, who has been trusted with the secrets of a handsome woman that has made successful use of a revolver, would not be much abashed in the social circles described by that Petronius who is declared to be the same whom Nero called his arbiter of fashion.

The popularity of the saxophone in the night clubs of today recalls the plaintive notes of the flute in the luxury-loving city of Alexandria. "Lovers' Lane" crimes of today, which followed the closing of the restricted vice districts in the west and south of the United

States, recall what happened in Rome when a ban was placed on the "wicked Cyprians."

As a rule—and to note exceptions would be to compile useless volumes of anthropological lore—increasing luxury, ornate vices, lavish living go together. The old time warriors stole women. The old time slaves mated as they could.

The contests of war and of the athletic field, their victories garnished with applause and temporary adulation, stimulate. The drudgery of slavish toil depresses.

Can modern civilization be exempt from the paths that other civilizations have followed? Can science regulate that human nature which has remained human, despite the most terrible punishments pious sadists could devise? The answer scarcely is likely to be in the affirmative.

The former American taboos on sex discussion resulted largely from the social usages of a primarily agricultural and trading civilization, in which the rural community and village over-shadowed the urban group and colored its

life more than now. With the disruption of this social structure by industrialism and the increasing urbanization of the people, the taboos and inhibitions have been weakened or discarded, before new ones have grown up.

Let us admit that the increasing circulation of the newspapers has been a many-sided factor in all these changes. That increased circulation is primarily the result of the mechanical, electrical and transportation changes brought about by the increased employment of non-human power. It also has been made possible by the resulting urbanization. As circulation increases, the newspaper widens its circles of acquaintance and must increase its interests to hold its new readers. As the circle of readers spreads out like ripples on a pond, there is another movement in another dimension—a descent in the cultural scale and also a descent in the scale of inherent intelligence. As a result the editorial quest of topics with a universal appeal—subjects which anyone can understand—grows more eager.

This presents the constant temptation to treat sex topics as circulation bait, regardless of their news or artistic value. Some newspapers have not yielded—some have—none have to the extent that the magazines, both highbrow and pornographic, have employed sex to secure reader interest. One glance at the news stands is evidence enough on this point.

All adults understand a sex situation, and unfortunately all adolescents have an overpowering curiosity, which may lead to regrettable results, either from too much emphasis or too much suppression. So circulation and sex sometimes are linked in an ascending spiral. Up to the limit of satiety—which bounds any subject, news story or editorial crusade—the more circulation, the more sex in the news, and the more sex, the more circulation.

But just as in crime, the very abundance of sex news in time forces a process of selection, until a very minute fraction of sex news ever gets into the newspapers and that is usually selected because it carries with it some unusual

feature or appeal—exactly as the sex of great literature is always something vastly more than sex.

The other reason promoting emphasis of sex in the news is that we are in the midst of an era of general disillusionment about human perfectibility. It is a threadbare observation in history that such times of disenchantment always have followed waves of political or religious reform or revolutions. Such epochs always have been marked by a more intense sex note in literature, and life.

The United States has been undergoing progressive disillusionment for several years. It is conventional to date this from the end of the war—or from prohibition. Both are inadequate views. As to the war, it is generally assumed that the American people were engaged in an idealistic crusade for world peace and to make the world safe for democracy, but were cruelly disappointed by wicked diplomats at Paris. Some may have been so exalted and depressed, but the great masses

of Americans appear never to have shared the fine Wilsonian dream, as interpreted by the Creel refuge for homeless press agents.

The plethora of fine phrase and the mass production of idealism did not sell as many liberty bonds as old fashioned love of combat, desire of victory and the fear engendered by atrocity stories. One newspaper chain tested this out by using idealism in some cities, and blood and thunder in others. The "gory burgs" bought the most bonds. The "on to Berlin" editors put it all over the hifalutin world saving scribes.

If the history of the last quarter century be examined, it probably will be found that in American life of that period the loftiness of language was in the inverse ratio to the altitude of motive among statesmen and business leaders.

The turgid idealism of the war propaganda was in reality a defense mechanism for the statesmen, sociologists, uplifters and business men who had played the pacifist role as long

as they could, because they believed it was good politics and good business. That a host of newspaper editors and executives pursued just such courses merely proves that editors are not omniscient nor impeccable, and not immune to phraseology masquerading as public opinion.

The decline of idealistic notions did not begin with the end of the war— nor did it begin with the demonstration of the futility of prohibition. It was in progress long before. Of course no definite dates mark the beginning and end of trends in crowd psychology, but the advent of the "New Freedom"—the election of Woodrow Wilson—really was the high water mark of crusading enthusiasms, which had possessed the American people for nearly a decade previous.

In the chapter on politics will be found some remarks applicable to that romantic era in popular thought and its reflection by the newspapers. It was a time of demonology, when most of us believed that wicked men—

Wall street bankers, trust magnates, traction barons, railroad manipulators, political bosses, saloon keepers, brewers, distillers and white slavers—were responsible for all Evil. Out of this demonology grew political and journalistic movements as romantic as the crusades. Live editors were in the St. George business nearly every edition. As fast as one dragon was slain by the lance of publicity, another was sought that he too might be impaled upon the shining muck rake. It was the time of Rousseau and Condorcet all over again, following the bloody minded and depressing realism of Kipling and the New Darwinians.

It worked up to a fine climax in the Battle of Armageddon in 1912, but although those who stood with the Lord did not win, it was universally felt that "The New Freedom" was "Armageddon" in a different binding.

Then there came a deadly lull. What to print, now that the dragons had all been slain or reformed and Congress was enacting

all the high flown hopes into paragraphs, which may be found in the Revised Statutes.

One of the writers attended a regional conference of the editors of a newspaper chain at Dallas, Texas, in the spring of 1914 at which this thing was discussed. Two of the editors, including one of the perpetrators of this book, believed that the traction and labor questions, like the old bloody shirt, which so long contained presidents, yet offered possibilities in more circulation and greater prestige. The majority wanted something new, as did their fellows in newspaper offices all over the land. They sensed a change in the mental weather, like uneasy roosters which crow at midnight. Dimly they felt that time coming when a story about a jazz bride would be worth a column and a yarn about a traction baron might squeeze in as reserve political ammunition in the closing days of a mayoralty election.

It was decided that feminism was the big new stuff. Already feminism meant sex, as

well as suffrage. There had been a time when we boys knew feminism in the persons of dour matrons or still dourer maids past forty-five who sought the ballot or crusaded for the single standard of morals and Sunday closing of saloons. Women of that type are today irreverently alluded to by hapless reporters assigned to cover uplift meets as "female battle-ships."

But a new feminism was in the air with "The New Freedom". Inez Milholland had set the fashion. Girls returning from the fashionable eastern finishing schools enlivened many a Main Street in 1906 and 1907 with suffrage colors, and some "really shocking" remarks about the process of mating and what women proposed to do about "a man's world". "Confessions of a Wife", Ida McGlone Gibson's serial, had proved to be great circulation bait—it was tinged with the new ideas.

So feminism, itself a child of the romantic political and social crusades of the time, proved the herald of the new sex emphasis in the

news. As political disillusionment grew with the withering of the "New Freedom"—as men remained men despite the new laws and the idealistic thunders from the White House, and as War came on the scene—with all its ancient realism, but with uniforms for women—feminism grew, the uplift waned and feminism meant every day more of sex freedom and less of suffrage. The flapper who has reestablished the matriarchate over the cake eater may not know it, but her real ancestors were that bevy of "wonder girls" who proved that women may have brains, wills and nerve and yet be frantically desired of men.

Not a few of these girls entered the newspaper game and helped to mold it. The advice to the love-lorn columns took on new life and increased their real service—and it is a social service of the first magnitude, despite all the flippancy which had been dished out about it. If anyone doubts the circulation importance of sex, a reading of these letters will convince. Two topics predominate in them, sex and race.

The development of newspaper art contributed powerfully to all this ferment. Feminism reacted on athletics and ere long the news pages were full of bathing beauties and women sprinters. Today in many city rooms men may be seen swiftly sorting the day's output of pictures from all points of the compass. They often are searching for white rounded beauty against a dark back ground. How all this has reacted on costume and back again upon manners and the newspapers would require a volume to tell.

Among the contributing factors to the era of disillusionment and the consequent increase of sex interest, prohibition stands foremost.

As a disillusioniser it was the climax. No class of reformers made greater claims of perfecting humanity than the prohibitionists. Their claims were definite and understandable, too.

A considerable degree of economic education may be needed for one to appraise the

failures of those who promised such wonderful results from the regulation of railroads or municipal ownership of lighting plants.

But anybody can appreciate the failure of prohibition to deliver the goods promised by its promoters.

Rev. William A. Sunday said on the ratification of the 18th amendment "The jails will be empty, and hell will be for rent". In 1921 he said "The world has gone nuts". In 1925 he declared "They have just put the old red light district on wheels—that's all". The most stable manufacturing industry in America during the ups and downs of post war business has been the manufacture of jail equipment. The volume of unfilled orders, has always been far ahead of capacity. Every writer on divorce and every ecclesiastical utterance on the subject dwelt upon strong drink—in pre-Volstead days.

Every housewife knows and every statistical survey shows that matrimony as an institution has been becoming decreasingly monogamic

since the banishment of the saloon. Monogamy displaced polygamy back in the days when our ancestors collected no figures on the High Cost of Living, but knew all about it. Now monogamy is threatened by a new polygamy—extended in time instead of space, and frequently alluded to as tandem polygamy. Remarriage is becoming almost as popular as divorce, and may even now be the leading objective of divorce.

Prohibition has contributed to the velocity of the sex cycle directly. Paradoxical as it may appear, the saloon and the restricted regions of regulated vice—which were competitors of some saloons, annexes of others—both of which had the bitter enmity of sheltered womanhood, were in fact social shields for the protection of just such women. In purveying alcohol the saloon disseminated an ultimate sexual deterrent. Because small doses have a temporary excitant effect on the sex emotions this fact was obscured to the unsophisticated.

The relative chastity of drinking nations as contrasted to the accentuated sexuality of the abstemious tropics and Orient should have given us the clue before we tried the experiment. When the American people were consuming 60,000,000 barrels of beer per year, sex was less prominent in their thoughts and their newspapers than is true today.

The conviviality of the saloon, its democratic discussion of interesting subjects like sports and politics, also diverted attention from sexual adventure.

It is interesting to speculate, however, as to whether the restricted vice districts would have survived the motor age. An ancient landlady told one of the authors in 1908 that the business was doomed. She believed that the taxi cab, then coming in, would make it impossible to conduct the old fashioned brothel in competition with the cheating apartment.

The restricted district really restricted vice, by delimiting it and branding it. Its control was not perfect of course, but it set up a psy-

chological beacon which sternly marked off vice and virtue. The women of the half and half type were relatively scarce in the West and South until the passing of the regular brothel. With the dispersal of vice and its vendors among the general population came an increasing haziness of the boundaries between the two kinds of women. That haziness has been reflected in the lessened repugnance to sex topics by great classes of newspaper readers who formerly upheld the old taboos.

The advent of the automobile of course gave a powerful impetus toward sex in the news. It made the population more mobile year after year, and steadily broke down the older social controls and the inhibitions based upon locality and neighborhood opinion. It increased the opportunity for evasion and privacy of all sorts. It scattered social sets all over great metropolitan areas and still further estranged those of adjacent domicile. This breaking up of the older social units has led to profound changes in the mating mechanism of society.

Higher wages have lessened the advance of women into industry—factory and shop jobs. The poor working girl of the nineties is relatively scarcer and is so well paid that her changed status has reacted unfavorably upon the business of the newspaper sob sister who used to write about her, and capitalize the sympathy evoked. But women are swarming into office work, because it is there that the eligible young men are more likely to be met. Daughter no longer meets her future husband at the church social and entertains him in the parlor. It is in the office, where she controls the typewriter and the machine does not set her pace as in the factory, that the opportunities for beginning courtships are to be found.

In the office she may wear her come-hither clothes, her clinging short skirts and sheer hosiery. Every large office building boasts its own beauty parlor to supply bobs and manicures, and when the lunch hour arrives the streets and tea rooms make one wonder why men pay big prices for tickets to the Follies.

All this has changed the language and technique of courtship. It has pepped up love making—made it snappy. It has made marriages different, because so many of them grow out of business contacts.

If you care for the reflection of all these changes in news, fiction or verse—read your newspaper.

No views of sex and its reaction on the newspapers would be complete without noting the influence of the movies upon the newspapers and the reaction of the newspapers upon the movies. Both have responded to the social forces. The newspapers have been profoundly influenced by the changes in popular taste which they have presented to them so forcibly in the movies.

CHAPTER V.

Union Labor

The doctrines of union labor are redolent of expressions of human fraternity and the rights of man, but the necessary tactics of a successful union are their direct opposite. In that paradox lies much of the complaint of union labor against the press. Officials of labor will not acknowledge, though they often must practice, the same tactics as those displayed by a commercial or manufacturing trust.

Success demands that the market be not flooded. While labor unions proclaim that labor is not a commodity, their efforts to keep the supply of labor below the demand is proof that they know it is.

The bitterness of jurisdictional disputes, carried on with revolver and bomb, brass knuckles and "educational committees" is proof that men cannot be brothers in fact when they

must struggle against each other for livelihood. While the preambles of constitutions of union labor read like Tom Paine's "Rights of Man", their apprenticeship limitations are kin to the price regulating agreements of many trade and other associations, maintained in various industries.

Stripped of the ethical bunk, in which it is wrapped by its officials and by social uplifters, union labor is a manhood and womanhood trust. Some unions have an initiation fee of $250 and in addition they have great influence with such licensing bodies as conduct examinations which must be passed for permission to ply those trades.

Despite these facts, the labor unions are responsible for immense social and economic progress. Many of them are examples of enlightened and honest democracy in action. They are the chief hope of the men and women faced by merciless economic laws and the development of labor saving machinery. Union labor has made the lives of men and

women in industry safer; it has fostered the public school system; it has promoted legislation for increased comfort by the shortening of the toil of women; it has caused the cessation of many deadly industrial practices and processes. Union labor has brought American society out of a condition of industrial barbarity.

The efforts of union labor and its allies have substituted for the judge-made common law doctrines of "assumption of risk", "negligence of a fellow servant" and "contributory negligence", the employers' liability laws. Those laws have increased safety by making the installation of safety devices more profitable than to do without them. To labor unions also largely is due that restrictive policy of immigration, enacted perhaps too late and still opposed by many great employers, which prevents the pulling down of American standards of living. There is a growing recognition that well paid labor means more consumers and that more consumers mean more sales.

That primitive policy of buying as cheaply as possible and selling as dearly as possible was found to have its obvious limitations. Greater understanding that poverty is an expense to society as a whole probably will bring still greater strides. But the labor unions grew out of bitter times, and fought a bitter battle.

It is not the purpose of the authors, perhaps the task is beyond them, to write a history of the labor movement, but acquaintance with some of the leading men of labor during the last twenty years has left certain conclusions and convictions.

The newspaper itself functions most smoothly when the men of its mechanical departments are obtained through union sources. There are some notable exceptions, but that seems to be the generality of experience. There are unions and unions. The government of no body of men, political, social or military is an easy task. No autocracy is revolt proof and no democracy is fool proof. But like men, there are unions whose word is as good

as a bond and some whose bond is worth only an idle word.

A strike is war in industry. It is carried on as a private war. This is known to union leaders and to those of the other side of the controversy, but as a rule neither side will admit it. In a war passions are not docile and reason is not enthroned.

Thus a newspaper's duty in a strike is to print the news. The paper which wins a reputation for fairness in such a case has a great asset. A newspaper never must lose sight of the fact that readers are its greatest asset. A paper that lacks readers will lose advertisers. For reward, certain short-sighted business may remain loyal to a paper as a sort of subsidy for the paper's "right attitude" during a strike, but business reasons govern in the end and unprofitable advertising is withdrawn. An advertiser is damaged by the appearance of his text in a newspaper that has ceased to have prestige among its readers.

During a strike which affects a whole city,

a paper will offend everybody at some time. If it favors one side, it offends the partisans of the other. If it takes a middle ground, it offends both sides and gives the general public the idea that it lacks courage. If it prints only the statements of both sides, it deserves to lose public confidence, because the parties at odds with each other no more tell the truth than do rival general staffs in their communiques during a war.

The public prefers excitement to sociology. How many women will gather on their doorsteps and sit by the hour to praise other women and find pleasure in the good fortunes of others? How many men will gather at a smoker to listen to readings from the poems of Robert Browning?

So the wise editor sends out reporters to risk their necks and get the news.

There are elements in any population that welcome the chance to get out and raise Hell! This is not an indulgence exclusively of the slum gang. It is something that is known or

should be known to every college president. It is a truth that has been snickered over by sober alumni, whose rooms bore attestation, in bad Latin, that they were masters of various things, as if education could be sold in cartons like breakfast food.

When violence occurs in a strike, each side blames it on the other. As both sides have wrecking crews and both are playing with politics and the police, the best the public can hope for is a settlement. The editor, who is "wise to the town in which he lives" and who has its interests at heart will put the fear of publicity into both sides. He will get a settlement, even if he feels forced to take the credit for it. The wise editor, however, if he would follow the wisdom of the well tested and rightly famous Ben Franklin, would attribute the end of the trouble to the fair-mindedness of his fellow citizens, and the regard they felt for the good name of their city. If he felt he must pat himself on the back or have a laugh, he should

do either or both outside of newspaper columns.

"Every union business agent should study law, so that when a contractor asked for something he should not have, the business agent could take a retainer and charge for his advice," said Michael Boyle, better known to readers of Chicago newspapers as "Umbrella Mike", a business agent of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 134.

He said it some years ago, informally, in the washroom of the Criminal Court building at Chicago, where he, Martin B. "Skinny" Madden and Fred Pouchot later were convicted and fined on charges of extortion.

"If", said one of the writers of this book to Madden before court opened one morning, "you had been grafting, you would not have to continue in the labor field. You could have retired long ago and have a mansion on the fashionable North Shore."

"Yes", said Madden, "and here I am just

earning a comfortable living, and they have me here on the 'North Side' ".

"The North Side", among the labor men and many others, means the Criminal Court Building, with the same implications that the "Cooler" refers to the County Jail, with which it connects. Both buildings are just across the river.

Madden is dead, but the system he developed lived. It was a masterly system. Based on the rule that all material put into a building must be fabricated under union conditions or their equivalent, and the fact that as Madden said, "a building cannot be built out of Chicago and moved in", the system returned profits. The extent of those profits never will be known. But they were ample.

If a man put in a non-union set of fixtures of any sort, he had to tear them out before union men would go any further on his job. Suppose that would cost him $10,000. Rather than that, he would "pay a fine" of from say $3,000 to $5,000 rather than have work on his

building stop, and never be finished, unless the offending material were removed and replaced.

This system had an immensely powerful lever. The business agents, then representing trades in the Associated Building Trades Council, met twice a week as a board of business agents. There each agent presented the troubles of his trade and asked for "support".

With contractors working under clauses containing heavy forfeits for delays beyond a specified time in the erection of a building, a lack of union troubles was vital. There even were "whispers" among the insiders that some contractors would be willing to make advance payments to business agents, if while one contractor was protected against labor trouble, a rival was sure to have it. Business is not conducted by saints and "only results count."

The public is honest, but not superhumanly so. Therefore when a newspaper calls on union labor to purge itself of its rogues, of which there are plenty, and thus merit greater public consideration, the result is not always

gratifying. Persons attaining success by other than the copybook maxims are too numerous and too secure, for the ordinary man or woman wage earner to attempt to crusade into labor's ranks an honesty which would make that branch of human activity lonesome. The helpful rogue always has been better liked than the hapless fool.

On the secret as well as the proclaimed notions and emotions, the newspaper has its pulse-testing hand, and it is wise if it does not outrun its readers and stand on a solitary peak of moral grandeur.

As history records the evolution of the fighting tribe into the legislating community, so the press records the evolution of many unions into the field of banking. Some unions, not yet so engaged, are so well entrenched that they are strong and conservative institutions, with immense treasuries, with contracts as complex as international treaties, with working rules and laws as intricate as any book of statutes. These organizations supply vast enterprises

with employes and protect men and women both during the years of active employment, and when they no longer can work.

In industries where such unions exist, the whole situation has been benefited. Where unions have been extirpated as soon as they appeared, there the twelve hour day and other unsocial conditions have persisted longest.

The enlightened newspaper promotes social good. If democracy is to operate and grow, labor must not be too long nor too arduous, nor must old age be insecure.

To keep the good will of the intelligent public, the newspaper of necessity must point out the man or set of men who as crooks act under the cloak of labor as well as those who as crooks act under the cloak of politics. There have been notorious objects of both sorts, both in and out of jail, but they are an evil like cancer. A man is not executed for having cancer, democracy cannot be surrendered because crooks can attain office under it, nor can union labor be attacked as such, because at times men

who disdain all honest toil make themselves the masters and use hard working thousands as pawns in schemes of private blackmail. History has instances where whole peoples have been used to no better purpose and there was no great outcry from them.

Among the more famous of the "social wars", that have occurred during the authors' time of experience with the labor unions and their leaders, were those which revolved around the destruction of the Los Angeles Times plant, the mine struggle in Colorado, the mine battles in West Virginia.

In the case of the Times, an explosion killed non-union printers and destroyed the building. That act came at the climax of a long and bitter struggle. That battle centered around the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the National Erectors' Association. That latter organization operated open shop on construction all over the United States. The tradition of the structural iron trade is that it first was recruited as

the sailing ships declined. Men who could go aloft during a storm and reef a topsail, could go high up on a web of steel.

But the accidental death rate among those workers was high. What element of safety there now is in their trade is due to their union. With such men under such conditions and with steel as the fabric of the contention, dynamite became the argument of organized men against organized money. It is hard to realize, now that a better social philosophy prevails in many places, the degree of bitterness in the experience that brought on that war. It was fought by two generals, John J. McNamara, secretary-treasurer of the union, and Walter Drew, a high official of the National Erectors' Association.

Briefly, clockwork bombs long wrecked with impunity iron work in cities all over the United States. The Los Angeles Times was the voice of open shop forces, and early one morning its building was blown up. As the result of that and other explosions, Secretary John McNa-

mara, his brother James McNamara, Ortie McManigle, President Frank M. Ryan and the union's international executive board later were sent to prison.

The Colorado coal miners' strike of 1914 was really a civil war, an attempted revolution within a state, for the purpose of restoring the American theory of government regarding freedom of speech and assembly.

It was in some respects similar to the Dorr rebellion in Rhode Island, which historians are beginning to study anew as the prospect has arisen of clashes between urban communities and state governments for the right of adequate urban representation in state legislatures and upon taxing bodies.

Considered from a military standpoint this war was of greater moment than many Indian campaigns, which are treated as wars in conventional histories.

But that is true of many of the miners' campaigns—it also was true of the well executed strategy of the armed tobacco growers of Ten-

nessee and Kentucky in 1907-1908, who practically defeated the tobacco interest and the armed forces of the state of Kentucky.

The sustained military traditions and soldierly capacity of the miners' union and its leaders are not of course set forth even in their own official publications. But conversation with old timers will reveal that the history of the coal industry for fifty years has been a series of rear guard actions from Pennsylvania to Colorado, as the miners of older racial stocks were superseded by new comers imported from Europe to take their places. The older miners, American, Welsh and Cornish, Scotch and Irish in turn went to coal fields further west. Always the new comers were later organized by the remnants of the older stocks, who usually held leadership.

Colorado represented the farthest west of coal, except for the inconsequential fields of Washington and British Columbia. The battle was bound to be bitter there—and it was.

In one of its violent political swings from

mouthy and futile radicalism to the autocracy of business boosters, Colorado fell completely into the hands of the Rockefeller and Guggenheim interests. Unionism in the metal mines had been crushed, the metal mining industry was dying, and labor agitation in the gold, silver and copper fields had degenerated into pop-eyed syndicalism, bombing and doctrinaire bunk about revolution. Out of this arose the great struggle to destroy unionism in coal. But that was a harder job—the coal miner is undisciplined and an individualist as compared to the factory worker, but he is not the reckless, carefree gambler of the gold shaft. He could be molded into a fighting and sticking force.

In the war that followed the state militia, recruited for the occasion from the desperate elements, who fill the ranks of industrial finkdom and the private detective agencies—tough and dirty fighters—met hundreds of veterans just returned from the first and second Balkan wars.

Several sizeable actions were fought, then came the massacre of women and children at Ludlow—an accident according to the best evidence—but passing as a premediated crime of the militia. Federal intervention stopped the war, and it is recorded as a draw, but in fact the union apparently was on the point of victory.

The problems of the newspaper in dealing with strikes were brought out in high relief during this titanic industrial fight—a magnified example of many that have taken place far up in the hills of many a state, usually at the rail-head of some branch railroad that never had a Pullman on it—in places most Americans never heard of. In the beginning all the Denver papers favored the strikers. One switched later, but the others maintained their stand to their heavy cost. One of the classics of American muckraking deals with these events in such a manner that the reader would get the impression that all the "capitalistic" newspapers applauded the suffocation of women and babies in the dug-outs at Ludlow.

Reporters are quite apt to be labor sympathizers. They are young and have been brought up on the school history John Hancock and Boston Tea Party stuff. They are also poor.

Labor leaders have a sense of the dramatic; they get their jobs because they understand popular appeals. They hand out all the news and give impassioned and picturesque statements to the newspaper men. Some managing editors may be anti-union, but they also are good showmen, if they are fit for their jobs. They print the labor stuff.

They may have seasoned labor reporters who know all the failings of the leaders and have seen the tyranny of triumphant labor. They may be careful to send such men to cover strikes, in order to guard against the humanitarian enthusiasm of the cub assigned to such a story. Nevertheless their papers nearly always will give labor the best of the story—simply because labor has the news and hands it out. The business executive rarely under-

stands anything about the art or value of publicity. In former days, until the fear of God came on him, he frequently did not know enough to be courteous to newspaper men. Even today such executives hire expensive press agents — and then are so dumb as to ignore the advice which costs them so much, and would save them so much.

In the Colorado struggle some laughable incidents occurred. The whole state was in a high pitch of excitement and radical writers from all the world poured in. One newspaper office became a headquarters for this crowd, of whom one is buried under a monument in Red Square outside of the Kremlin walls today.

In hiring extra reporters to cover the strike, one Denver editor got a bright red-headed Scotchman with Boer war experience, who went out a reporter and soon blossomed out a "general" — commanding a detachment of miners who fought the state troops at Walsenburg. The "general" incidentally bought guns and things and charged them to the paper. It

took years for the paper to live that down—if it has ever been lived down. The "general" transferred his activities to Mexico later, and ended his career in the morning's misty grey—if Mexican mornings are misty—against a 'dobe wall.

New Orleans editors often lost good reporters who shipped to banana revolutions that they had press agented for Central American patriots. Such are the men who seek exciting assignments, and that's one reason why Labor gets such a good break in the labor news in the Press it denounces—but believes and buys. Certainly the "capitalistic press" tells labor's story far better than labor ever has told it in book or official paper.

There are distinct schools of union labor thought which are met by the newspapers from time to time. There are the conservatives of all shades and the radicals of all shades. Many "good workmen" hold all sorts of opinions. Some hope to become a new Gompers and some hope to become new Lenins. Some want to

stick to their work, some prefer to wander. There are men of all parties and each shade of belief insists the union would be served best by following him. Some are sincere, some are working with hope or promise of political preferment. Some have their eyes on the co-operative commonwealth and insist that anything short of that is a betrayal of the working class, and others know the ward boss or an alderman and can get pickets out of jail.

The radical press strives to make labor radical and the conservative press tries to make labor conservative, and the labor press tries to make its readers "consistent trades unionists". The union members turn to the ordinary newspaper and buy with an eye to the best sporting page and the best comics. Only two strong labor newspapers are left, the Milwaukee Leader, a Socialist paper, and the Seattle Labor Union Record, and both follow popular newspaper models. Certain groups of unions have political power and direct potency that others do not. The shop union, enclosed by four

walls, or outside of four walls when on strike or when locked out, is less potent than are the unions of the building trades.

Probably the union that has most of the middle-age guild left in it is that of the printers, which calls its shop organizations "Chapels", but there is an essential difference between the modern union and the guild. The guild included both employers and employed. Its head was an employer. The guilds were the organizations through which the middle-class made itself felt as it grew. The guild had a pride of its own as a foil to that of the nobles and the clergy.

The labor union movement is a modern thing. It is somewhat different in America from that in Europe, less definitely political and religious. The labor movement of the world is in constant communication and has an international organization. This is now official as part of the league of nations, as far as European labor is concerned, and American labor sends fraternal delegates to Britain and receives them

in return. It also is in touch with the continent.

As a general thing, labor politics as well as ordinary politics, in America, is largely a matter of personality and promises, individual delivery or non-delivery of favor or legislative support. Labor here as a rule seeks the greatest immediate benefit, convinced that half a loaf is better than no bread.

Union labor is a hotbed of loyalties and animosities. Its leaders must flatter its members to get their votes, just as a politician must tell the people they are better and wiser than they are, so they will think him better and wiser than he is. So newspapers in a strongly union town must play to the unions; papers in a town about 50-50 can have much to say on both sides; papers in a non-union town most effectively can keep out unions by making conditions so good unions appear needless.

There is no effect without a cause, and if unions had not been necessary, they would not be here. When they cease to be necessary,

they will have the fate of the vermiform appendix, the short apelike tail that mankind keeps concealed, and the third eye now hidden under the skull and said to be a left over from the reptilian age.

CHAPTER VI.

The Newspaper Industry

The newspaper is an industry and an author!

It must succeed as a capitalistic enterprise, it must produce a literature of its time with collective authorship.

All literature—even simple narrative, is in part a critique of its age.

This contradiction and its continuous solution by working compromise constitute the problem of newspaper management.

The controlling principle of such compromises has been well put by a leading publisher who remarked that a newspaper can no more afford to poison its news than a dairyman can afford to put prussic acid in his milk. The newspaper which poisons its product poisons itself. Suppression of important or pertinent facts in the interest of popularity, class, gang, clique or

self-interest is the equivalent of a death warrant if persisted in. Of this the roll of dead newspapers is sufficient testimony.

An institution which is writing literature, as the clock ticks, is a peculiar kind of property. It falls under none of the conventional classifications of property or business enterprises.

From one viewpoint a newspaper is a public utility. It produces something as necessary to the sustained life of a modern community as water, electricity or gas.

But newspaper property lacks many essential characteristics of utility properties. It is burdened with many of their duties and obligations, but shares none of their privileges and security.

To succeed it must give an approximation of fair dealing to all the varied interests of a community—but this obligation of service to all is rewarded by no legally sanctioned monopoly

In no industry of equal age is the primitive

competition of capitalistic industry so well preserved. In no industry are the hazards greater.

Like other industries, newspaper publishing has in recent years required the investment of vast sums in fixed capital and equipment. But these investments have given no additional security. The greater part of the values of a newspaper property remain intangible—subject to the daily referendum by the reading public.

Such values are even more intangible than those of great merchandising establishments. Public appreciation must be cultivated every day—good will must be re-created 365 times a year. As newspapers have grown wealthier the effort required to retain reader good-will has increased. No newspaper today can command the blind unswerving loyalty which was the mainstay of the old type of party organ. A newspaper then was something to swear by, now it must be interesting enough to swear at.

The owners of newspaper property recall King Midas.

The more golden their touch the smaller is the range of their other satisfactions.

As a newspaper grows wealthy and powerful, its obligations increase and it becomes less a personal chattel and more a property devoted to public use.

No newspaper publisher has yet found himself limited to a realm of choice as narrow as those which are afforded to the executive of a gas company, but the greater the value of his property, the less is it subject to his whims and personal caprice.

It only grows valuable in the measure in which it approaches the status of a public utility.

The executive of a great metropolitan paper which must earn upwards to $200,000 per day to exist, can gratify few of his personal preferences or prejudices in the manipulation of such a machine.

It has become conventional to say that a newspaper lives on its by-product, advertising. From this has sprung up a school of criticism

which professes to condemn the whole fabric of journalism, as based upon unsound economics and morality.

Is advertising a by-product? Isn't it merely one phase of reader choice—the value underlying the whole property?

Owing to the great changes in industry and trade, population shifts and rising standards of living, it probably is true today that the great majority of newspaper advertisers are as dependent on the newspapers, as they are on the railroads, the post office or the telephone for their continued existence and functioning.

As advertising has first supplemented and then supplanted many other modes of salesmanship and distribution, and has become a great creative industrial force by raising the standards of demand and educating the masses to the value of new commodities, the old idea of advertising as a lucrative tail to the newspaper kite has become obsolete.

With the proper perspective on advertising, the whole complex of ideas as to the influence

of advertisers on newspaper contents and policies will disappear. The inherent absurdity of the proprietor of a tooth paste business, created by printers' ink, wielding a club over his creator will become apparent to all—as it now is to any candid mind.

The idea that centrally located department stores, which can only survive the competition of the neighborhood chain store by intensive publicity and bargain appeal, have a veto on editors, is as germane to our world as are the mystic formulas of astrology.

True, such ideas of dependence have existed in newspaper offices. That such delusions existed there, was the only validity back of the opinion as to advertising influence. Such ideas still survive in backward newspaper shops—as the Washington hand press survives in remote mountain hamlets.

Subserviency of newspapers and their poverty went hand in hand, but the peal of the cash register is no alarm bell in a newspaper establishment, where it rings all the time.

By making advertisers rich, newspapers themselves became wealthy. As their advertisers grew rich, their dependence on the newspaper increased, while the dependence of newspapers on any individual advertiser or any group declined with the volume and vogue of all advertising. We have arrived at a period in which advertising makes or breaks firms and corporations. The balance of power has swung to the distributor of business publicity, just as the balance of economic power shifted from the primary producer to the railroad in a former epoch.

Some newspaper proprietors may not know it yet—but the leaders have known it for many years. The growth of new industries, the automobile, the movie, radio—all competing for the public's dollars—has not only created new sources of newspaper wealth, but has subjected great groups of men and enterprises to the influence wielded by the newspaper. Nearly every new industry has created a new volume of advertising, and at the same time

added a department to the newspaper. The radio department, the movie critic and the motor editor now function as critics of these new departments of life.

In the meanwhile the primary public that buys the papers has increased its use of small want ads, until the number of advertising patrons comes ever closer to the number of readers.

Amid all this growing complexity, power and responsibility—with hazards and competition growing equally intense—the newspaper has remained a primitive capitalistic enterprise, in another important respect.

The leadership of such enterprises still is personal, and even dynastic.

As yet the newspapers present hardly any instances of democratized absentee ownership and institutionalized management such as the American Telephone and Telegraph Company or other great utilities, railroads and industrials. There may be several stock holders, but they are all personally acquainted if not bound

by closer ties. Most of the successful papers are yet in the hands of founders, reorganizers or their descendants. Where management has been delegated to some outsider, his control is of a highly personal nature, not at all similar to that of a railroad president. The allegiance of the editorial employes is very largely personal —they work for the man, owner or hired managing editor rather than for the "company". Corporate in form, newspapers are personal in fact, to an unusual degree. Old employes frequently cherish a sentiment for the institution similar to that a man feels for a college or even a church—but the personal loyalties are there too, never absent in fact from a newspaper which is alive and growing.

It is too much to expect that even newspapers long can escape the trend toward institutionalization and the substitution of financial control for the personal owner-manager. But when the new type of control sets in, it will be time to write another book about newspapers.

They will be different then. This book is an attempt to show what they now are.

There are few if any authentic instances to date of newspapers surviving an attempt to institutionalize them. Bankers have usually got rid of newspapers thrust on them — realizing in a short time that here was a kind of property in which some of the cherished rules of finance and industrial efficiency would be fatal, if applied to all departments.

For a long time to come any institutionalized newspaper must survive the competition of its personally conducted contemporaries or encounter the competition of new papers founded by ambitious men. But on the other hand, the costs of publishing are becoming so vast that the older type of ownership and the financing of extensions out of profits will become impossible. Our tax and inheritance laws militate against the perpetuity of personal fortunes large enough to carry such enterprises.

When the financial handicaps of personal ownership will outweigh the operating handi-

caps imposed on a newspaper owned by an institutionalized, impersonal corporation, is a question which cannot be answered here. But neither of the present writers would care to buy any stock in a newspaper, unless it was run by some "old man" or "lad" with the newspaper personality, and the money and power back of it to make it supreme in the shop.

Without profits a newspaper cannot enact the role of prophet. The moment it fails to pay its way, somebody must. When someone else pays the fiddler, he will also call the tune. A newspaper which is not profitable is really not a newspaper — it is a part of something else — it becomes a department of some interest, faction or institution.

A kept woman may be charming and possess a voice to win loud applause — but she is a plaything. Try as it may to become a mere chronicle, a newspaper always retains and must keep some of the attributes of the old Roman tribune. It must warn, advise and threaten. It must occasionally at least "beard the high."

The editor of the most conservative Eastern newspaper, even the editors of financial journals published within a stone's throw of the stock exchange, know that a newspaper that never has a fight never has many readers.

CHAPTER VII

Power of The Press

The power of the press was a hackneyed theme before any possible readers of this book were born. Much bunk about it has been written by newspaper men themselves. An editor never has been required to affect the pose of modesty once expected of other professional men.

Exaggerated notions of the power of the press have been entertained by newspapermen in the past, and possibly a few retain them. However a period of skepticism as to their own influence began some years ago and today newspapermen are probably less convinced of the influence of their institutions and their work than outsiders—among whom the old platitudes as to the potency of print still are rife. The very hatred of the newspaper by

special pleaders, uplifters, and fanatics of all sorts reflects their fearsome respect.

It is very likely that newspapermen now deprecate their own influence too much. In truth we know very little about the power of newspapers, because we know so little of either individual or social psychology.

The newspaper shop is a place of constant testing, of trial and error as to the modes of affecting the mass mind. The editorial and news rooms are in fact the greatest existing laboratories of crowd psychology—but the magnitude of their experimentation has resulted in only a small increment to the certainties of the infant science.

Newspapermen themselves rarely have stopped to generalize their results. They have evolved a few practical rules and some brilliant guesses—but even these are subject to constant test and revision.

Present skepticism as to the power of the press really is a joke of the professional politician on much more intelligent men. Publishers

and editors still attach undue importance to the state and to politics. Public office, the symbol of power, has fascinated them, and when they fail to swing an election, they are too apt to regard their electoral defeat as a verdict of impotency and lack of popular confidence.

They have not duly appraised the artificiality and social insignificance of most elections. They have mistaken for referenda of popular opinion, mere sham battles, stage-managed between organizations, which have developed an elaborate and successful technique for stirring up temporary excitement about unreal issues, among the minority who go to the polls, mostly from unreasoning party habit or temporary psychic stimuli which never outlast the campaign by forty-eight hours. The professional politician has been so successful in his stage-setting that he has even made the newspapers themselves issues of campaigns. In the chapter on politics it was noted how ill will toward the newspapers—inevitable among thousands whom the newspaper must person-

ally offend in its normal activities—has been taken over as an asset by political machines.

The essential unreality of our formal politics best is evidenced by the period of calm or even self-derision that succeeds the bathos and shrieks of the campaign. The country is in deadly peril on November 2, but by November 5, after the enemies of the republic have throttled the Goddess of Liberty and triumphed over the righteous and terrified minority, all is well. Nobody shoulders a musket in defense of parlor, bedroom and bath—kitchenette or delicatessen store.

The Chicago Tribune, the Memphis Commercial Appeal, the Los Angeles Times, the Denver Post, or the Kansas City Star, safely may reckon on printing headlines which are a heartache to write after many elections. It is equally probable that their circulation statements for the month after the election will show a big increase. They keep on winning the two or three cent popular referenda at the news stands, as they lose the less significant test at

the polls. Nobody is drummed up to buy a paper with red fire, spellbinding or other hokum. That choice is unrestrained. The fact that the two referenda so often contradict each other, is significant of the artificiality of the political method of ascertaining the content of the popular mind. It took three years of successive political defeats—each worse than the other—and every one of them followed by substantial circulation gains, to implant a suspicion of this in the mind of one of the writers of this book.

Every election that came on was viewed as a decisive test of the paper's future and as to whether the writer would ever amount to anything in life or become a bum. Invariably we told our readers that all was lost if our ticket failed to win. On every election day we began to hedge about the 2 p. m. edition, by describing the terrible frauds being carried out by the enemy machine. Preparation of an alibi editorial explaining that the election was a fluke occupied troubled minutes on the morning

after. But after a time it became evident that as long as the women who paid our carrier boys at the kitchen door on Saturdays liked our dress patterns, the advice of Cynthia Grey on how to manage husbands and the sobby stories of how girls had gone wrong, which we offered in never ending abundance, elections didn't matter much.

We lost another big one. A triumphant mob visited the plant and pinned crepe on the door. Next month we installed a new three-deck press to take care of the growing street sales and home delivered circulation.

Finally the writer told the political boss, whom we had been fighting so long, that there would really be no fun in beating him in a fair election, but if we ever got control of the election commission we intended to steal an election from him, so that he would know how it felt. No other sort of beating either would impress him or be appreciated. But the opportunity never offered. That boss still has the election board, according to reliable authority.

But he changed his methods. Little by little he adopted every reform or suggestion that the newspaper offered in an effort to embarrass him.

That has been the story in city after city. The old style fire works newspaper campaign, the stunt stuff of the British press, has long been passé here. Some editors still launch such crusades, but the wise ones have realized that the long pull wins. An enemy or an evil can repulse frontal attack after attack. The louder the band plays as the newspaper columns parade up the glacis, á la Pickett's charge, the worse the repulse in many cases.

The sky rocket stuff has been discarded quite generally. High explosives have been shelved for gas. Instead of editorial thunder and lightning, we have the erosion accomplished by the impartially written news story, appearing day after day about some different little phase of the enemy's activity or the protean features of the evil which is being assailed, gently, but with ever accumulating power.

Without even reading the new fangled psychologists, editors stumbled on the subconscious mind. The way into that human citadel is constant repetition, inconspicuous infiltration. Finally saturated with the suggestions, of which it does not even remember the source, the crowd moves toward the goals long since selected by the editor who has become a psychological engineer.

The increasing appeal to the subconscious mind and employment of the tactics of attrition in molding public opinion have resulted from the industrialization of the newspaper. As its personal element has become subordinated, there has come a consciousness of perpetuity.

Wise publishers have begun to cater more to the adolescents and even to the infant class. The colored comics on Sunday are the recruiting sergeants for the readers of tomorrow. When the Yellow Kid appeared in the New York papers he presaged not only yellow journalism, but greater appeal to youth and child-

hood. Juvenile stuff for real juveniles, and juvenile comics and cartoons for elders, always sneaking about in search of the Fountain of Youth, have followed in waxing multitude. When a Fellow Needs a Friend, Life's Darkest Moment, are instances.

The sports department is another great recruiting office for the enlistment of youth. That American newspapers often devote more space and writing talent to the diplomacy of the sixteen great powers of professional baseball than to the senilities of Geneva is further evidence that youth must be served. As caddies have grown up into golf professionals, boyhood interest has shifted a bit from sand lot baseball, and the sports writers have shifted writing gears. But even yet it is a wise editor who devotes what space he can to public school baseball and high school sports of all sorts.

How has the power of the press been affected by the growth of editorialized departments? The criticism has been made that the newspaper has become sovietized thereby The

modern newspaper often reads like the record of a debating society composed of its own staff. The World thunders in the index against salacity on the stage and in the next column Heywood Broun shrieks for liberty and nudity. The Hearst papers run a continuous debate between the column of Brisbanalities, and the Hinman epitome of aggressive capitalism on another page.

Brisbane also debates with Brisbane, as the Brisbane of callow and circulation promotion socialism is on occasion eclipsed by the Brisbane of real estate El Dorados built over the electrified tracks of the New York Central. Other columnists contribute to the diurnal babel. Beatrice Fairfax advises Victorian parlor tricks on one page and some advanced feminist at the helm of the society column defends the sportiveness of the idle rich, who are determined to "Live one's own life" and "To belong to one's self." "Rail bird" tells you how to get rich at the race track on the same day that the

editorial writers expose the doping of two year old colts.

The Chicago Tribune maintains a department called the "Voice of The People" in which it prints both approval and disapproval of its policies. From that department it yearly extracts material for a booklet, called "Brickbats and Bokays". This registry of reader reaction shows that some follow, some partly approve, others violently denounce. "I dare you to print this", or "Of course, you never would think of giving space to this" are frequent occurrences in the letters printed. By a "Beg Your Pardon" department as well as by what is popularly known as "Vox Pop", errors in stories are corrected. The pose of the prophet and pundit are abandoned, for the stand of the fair-minded, attentive public institution.

Henry L. Mencken has his say in a section of the Sunday paper and sometimes the editorials take him to task. The modern newspaper is a many sided thing, for a public that

has or must develop a sense of discrimination, independence of thought and action.

Does all this weaken the newspaper's influence? Not at all. In the days when men were serious enough to buy party or church organs, such a course would have been suicidal. In this latitudinarian epoch the net effect of all the debate is to create an overwhelming impression of fair play, which makes an opening for the serious drives on public opinion which any newspaper may from time to time undertake.

The debating society trend has been accompanied by an increasing frankness of newspaper management. Readers are informed of things which were once office secrets. That began with honesty in circulation statements. It has been climaxed lately by editorials in which a newspaper frankly avows that it does not intend to kill itself by excess of prudery or by the suppression of crime news.

Far better arguments than those of mere self-interest and intent to survive are available, but the growing candor of the press has

asserted itself with frankness that borders on brutality.

There is a serious question as to the advisability of too much frankness. In casting off the seventh editorial veil there is the risk of wrecking a great asset. The merest cub reporter soon learns that he is in a semi-sacerdotal craft. Humbler readers simply will persist in regarding a favorite paper as a sort of father confessor, physician and lawyer. The popularity of the advisory departments and their correspondence shows that. There is a hint of pathos in this sort of reader fealty. Frequently the small struggling paper is literally made by such fanatical devotion.

One of the writers recalls a trip through some of the old time Irish saloons of San Francisco with a reporter of the San Francisco News. Many of these homey little groceries with their quaint little bars curtained off at the back were operated by ancient widows whose husbands had been heroes of the old time stevedore strikes or scrimmages of sailor men

with their bosses. Always the "little News" had been the dock walloper's paper and for poor folks generally. Like all papers of its type, it was very friendly to the Roman Catholic diocesan dignitaries—an Archbishop in this case. The mere mention that one was a News reporter was an open sesame, which brought out the best liquor and rendered one's money counterfeit.

The considerable political power of financially decrepit newspapers frequently springs from this same surviving loyalty. One of the writers for a time piloted a small afternoon daily which had lost money—a little—not much, for seventeen years. Its circulation was small, confined to working class districts. Its most loyal supporters were aged women whose husbands had been gold and silver miners in the early days of that commonwealth.

These folks believed implicitly in the little paper. When it printed a list of candidates who were guaranteed to be friends of the people, they were assured of six thousand votes no

matter what happened. Insignificant in the life of the city otherwise, the sheet was a political pivot. It made and unmade mayors by judicious combinations and it told mayors and chiefs of police what to do and they did it.

Its editors were young fellows with no especial qualifications as keepers of anybody's civic conscience—but the very trust reposed in them made them act up to it. They had to be for the poor folks or sacrifice their own self-respect—and not one of them did. Would it have been advisable to have shattered the illusions on which all this loyalty fed?

The big powerful paper can afford to do without such support perhaps, but if a little bit of mystery preserves the older style of reader relationship—why not curb the candor a bit?

To put it another way, the veiled "god of the blue pencil" may be a more effective editor than the citizen whom everybody knows.

But it is an open question. Some editors use their papers to push their personalities, some secrete themselves. Both succeed. From the

first, Hearst has featured Mr. Hearst, the rich patron of the poor, the aristocrat who functions as the tribune of the common people against his fellow patricians of big money. He has put it over in great style.

E. W. Scripps, who invented many of the methods which other papers have copied—from whom Pulitzer and then Hearst absorbed much of their best stuff, was not even in Who's Who until very recent years. Many of his managing editors were in his service years without meeting him. But his influence never was absent from his far-flung newspaper shops. A few epigrams, some of them rich, rare and earthy, had been coined by the "old man". Every cub heard them within a few days after he opened his first pay envelope.

Those who really "got" them, usually became first-class newspaper men. Many of them came to oppose some of Scripp's ideas afterward, but none of them ever developed any doubts as to the soundness of his publishing principles.

There is one very good argument for the exploitation of editorial personality. In an age of machinery, organization and collective effort there is a popular hunger for personality. The gradual deification of the President—a similar phenomenon to the divinity of Ceasar in the second century, which so resembles the twentieth—is the result of this search for a personality on whom to deposit one's responsibilities—so complex and bewildering to the still simian brain engulfed in this mechanical cosmos which has grown up overnight. People do like an editor who appears at banquets and dedications. The editors of the Des Moines Register and the Memphis Commercial Appeal are personal leaders of their people because of their personal contacts and their speeches more than by reason of their jobs. Their positions and their editorial services and success got them the original invitations and publicity, which has since been converted into a personal leadership almost overshadowing their purely editorial influence. People still like small town jour-

nalism. That is shown by the growth of suburban dailies and weeklies—by the big money made by the young men who conceived that you could print a county seat newspaper full of "local items" amid the wilderness of brick, concrete and steel in upper Manhattan.

There are big newspapers which never have ditched the small town idea and have made millions by conserving it—the Brooklyn Eagle or the Washington Star for instance.

In spite of their protestations to the contrary, people still enjoy an old-time newspaper scrap. They like to read what rival newspapers have to say about each other, just as they enjoyed the personalities which were preliminaries to the duels of editors of party organs in the Jacksonian period. Such luxuries can be afforded but seldom by the newspaper grown into a public utility. They rarely last over four days now. The old running fights survive in a few localities only—the perpetual quarreling of the Nashville Banner and the Tennessean is the only case that comes to

mind. But even business office quarrels about who printed the most advertising—and who is distorting the records—which are now staged in page office ads—are enjoyed.

Few headlines are more alluring than those which contain the word "flay." If editors can no longer afford to assail each other as of yore, it is still possible for a newspaper, especially in the formative stages, to "flay" somebody else. As long as men love dog fights, chicken fights, and boxing matches "flay" will remain a handy resource for the head line writers. As a circulation promoter "flaying" is not the stuff it was, but one of the indispensible devices for the promotion of the Scripps papers in their vivid youth was to pick a fight—usually with the police chief or some unpopular official and give him a personal razzing. Frequently he was addressed in the second person in quite provocative language. If a bluff libel suit followed—all the better. Many Scripp's editors and reporters tried to break into jail for contempt of unpopular jurists, and some succeeded. Others

made the grade by publishing grand jury stuff. The old trick of fastening an opprobrious nickname on an opponent still is employed occasionally. The public in fact never has been reconciled to the abolition of the pillory. It is even beginning to regret the abolition of the ducking stool, as the business of alimony mining has become systematized and standardized. The wise editor should bear in mind this haunting regret for the pillory—once the choicest adornment of the market place.

A little flaying now and then is relished by the kindest men.

CHAPTER VIII

Washington

Nowhere is the enormous extension of the functions of the Federal government better appreciated than in the newspaper offices. Nowhere is there a better understanding that this multiplication of governmental activities has not meant an increase of real power. For a quarter of a century the Federal government has meddled more and governed less. It has lost prestige in the same ratio that it has increased its contacts with the citizen, and multiplied the number of its civil servants.

This process is accurately measured by the extent to which the Washington correspondent of the newspaper gradually has become another local reporter—handling the Washington end of local stories. The Washington bureau has become more of a reporter's beat, attached to the city desk, but less a detached

department of the paper concerned with high policies and supplying meat for the caged lions of the editorial page.

As the Federal government has multiplied its "duties", it has come more and more in contact with the local political machines. The local machines, not the distant Washington organization, have been aggrandized thereby. They have extended their influence in Washington, far more than Washington has increased its influence in the real centers of power throughout the country. This fact is not known to the mass of Washingtonians. Some of the old style Washington correspondents hardly perceive it. The intellectuals who swarm there and write books, which are supposed to deal with government, politics and diplomacy, but which never touch the core of those themes, do not know it, but it is axiomatic to every city editor.

Nearly every citizen is familar, however, with one phase of this process—the degradation of the Federal judiciary. When the Federal contacts of the great majority were limited

to licking postage stamps and unconsciously paying taxes by drinking rectified liquor or rolling one's own, the Federal courts were seats of the mighty. Only a handful of rural post-office yeggs or the vendettist free whisky men of the Southern Appalachians braved their wrath. The silken gown of the District Judge clothed a mysterious hermit, hedged about with all the vague terrors of ultimate sovereignty.

The devolution of these tribunals to the status of police courts came with startling rapidity. First the tangled trafficing and travail of the tenderloin were brought into those forums with the enactment of the Mann act. The European girl marts established American branches many years before, and by 1907 the frail brunettes of Lemberg had almost driven out the blonde and buxom native village maids. It was discovered that the Fathers of the Republic had foreseen and provided for this in the interstate commerce clause of the constitution, than which there is nothing more foresighted

except the 14th amendment—which also developed color blindness, after having been born of color consciousness.

Since the Mann act, blackmail and all its ramifications have been matters of high federal concern—except to the extent that the new juvenile courts have been entangled in that industry.

Following the sexification of Federal Justice, the tong politics of Chinatown and the business of pharmacy were federalized by the Harrison anti-narcotic act.

As the duties of the Federal courts were increased, they came more in contact with realistic politics, based on patronage and privilege. The long tenure of federal judges' terms has not preserved their aloofness. It was no friend of those courts who predicted their fate. Samuel Gompers said when Congress first began enacting such laws that federal policing meant federal police courts—and here they are.

With those changes, an increasing number of crime and sex stories come under Federal laws,

and the jurisdiction of federal officials and detectives. More local stories develop a Washington end, and the Washington bureau of any large newspaper gains importance and loses dignity.

The volume of queries exchanged between the home office and the Washington bureau of such a newspaper steadily mounts. The principle papers with extensive bureaus have leased wires, of course, and have met the new demand at Washington by employing more reporters there to take care of the new kinds of news developments. The smaller papers with one or two correspondents have had to convert their fountains of statesmanship into regular reporters, and to rely more on the press associations and syndicate commentators for the old line of heavy stuff—the fate of the nation, the state of the union and what an unimpeachable authority said last night about the president's intentions toward the island of Yap.

Here are a few of the local concerns one or the other of the authors of this book have, on

various occasions, referred to Washington: A defaulting banker of high social standing and strong drag with a city machine, therefore with a pass through the local courts or a pardon from the governor assured, also made fraudulent representations through the mails by publishing his bank statements in the newspapers. A Washington correspondent stirred up the Postmaster General's secretary, and the banker was prosecuted and given a rest in Atlanta.

Fraudulent trade schools lure country youths to town. The schools get the money, the boys get the reputation of being boobs. They can't get a job anywhere when they tell of their technical education. The Federal Trade Commission comes in handy there.

If the city's outlets are clogged by heavy motor traffic, the Bureau of Good Roads of the Department of Agriculture can dictate the dispensing of federal aid to state projects in such a way as to remedy the trouble. If citizens eat oysters and die of typhoid, the Public Health

Service or the Bureau of Fisheries at Washington takes a hand.

If the bakers hoist the price of bread or the brewers' "near beer" be needled with formaldehyde by legalistic bootleggers, who serve beer even nearer than near beer, in that it contains not even one-half of one per cent. of alcohol, but an even more potent kick toward the grave yard—rest assured that there is somebody in Washington who can start something about it. Rest equally sure that what is started will seldom, if ever, be finished. Stories from Washington—yea, an utter abundance. Results from Washington—scarcely a handful in two decades.

While the newspapers' contacts with the capital have been multiplying, the contacts of its citizens have increased and not all of them are due to increased federal legislation and bureaucracy. The joining habit and the rise of the press agent to the position of the Fifth Estate also have multiplied ties between Washington and the hinterlands.

Nearly everybody belongs to one or more—usually more—organizations, trade associations, labor unions or uplift agencies which maintain at Washington a national headquarters or a propaganda shop, intended ostensibly to guard the interests of the brethren at the seat of national authority.

Some of these organizations like the Anti-Saloon League are real lobbies—they actually do exert some pressure on Congress.

Credulous intellectuals have cited the existence of these organizations as proof that we really have a government conducted by class, trade and industrial soviets. As a matter of fact, the great majority of these concerns are bogus through and through. Their one activity is to keep alive and to insure the continuity of the salaries of the director and his staff. A show of activity is maintained and constant reports are made to the paying constituency, but what little influence most of them may have had at one time was long ago destroyed by themselves. The mere multiplicity of these

agencies, the volume of their clamor, the inherent contradictions and absurdities in their claims to be the representation of great multitudes, who never heard of their existence, have made the simplest member of Congress aware of their futility and impotency.

For a time this industry flourished and threatened to become one of our great national institutions. After the dissolution of the Creel bureau, Washington swarmed with unemployed blurb experts and the popular mind was obsessed with the power of propaganda, having heard so much of it in the war. We were then living under a President who was also a firm believer in the potency of phrase. For a while Washington office space was insufficient to accomodate these new agencies.

Every new nation in Europe and all the others set up propaganda shops as a means of aiding their raids for loans. Every group which had remained at home, and therefore won the war, set up an office charged to tell the world about it. Every gang of social renovators fol-

lowed suit. So-called farmers' and women's organizations long had been on the ground, but their activities redoubled. In one night one of the writers received from such publicity mills 178 mimeographed stories at his Washington office. There was enough of this kind of "news" to have filled the paper for a week.

The hand-out habit, however, profoundly affected Washington news gathering. The existence of these news canneries increased the number of possible news sources in Washington. War time custom had planted a press agent in every government department and bureau. Before that time the principal objective of a federal bureau was the preparation of its annual report and the measure of its success was the amount of work that could be screwed out of the government printing office. Under the universal hand-out regime a bureaucrat measured his success in life by the newspaper clippings his press agent managed to amass. The press agent measured his chances of staying on the job by the same clippings.

Many of the war time press agents and publicists who had been put on the Creel payroll, to hush them up and stop radical utterances during the war, managed to transfer themselves either to the railroad labor unions, whose leaders were filled with vast political visions of the Plumb plan or government ownership of rails as the result of the McAdoo "gimme" regime. Other similar press agents had become attached to church federations and councils.

The growth of these latter bodies was vastly stimulated by the financial success of the Anti-Saloon league which paid large salaries to ministers who formerly lived meagerly while toiling in the vineyard of the Lord. Liquor having been pre-empted by the Anti-Salooners and Sabbath observance, anti-cigarets and anti-cussing also having been organized and exploited, it was necessary and inevitable to devise a new "racket." Christian Socialism of the ancient Maurice and Charles Kingsley type was revived and revised. It was cleverly hooked into the social welfare game—already grown

to be a great institution with vast endowments and payrolls.

It is undeniable that these Washington news canneries have succeeded in putting over a great deal of stuff on the newspapers, despite the newspaper man's natural suspicion of the press agent.

This suspicion is not much alleviated by the fact that a large part of the press agent army are newspaper graduates. The competitive life of the normal reporter in news gathering offsets the natural camaraderie of the game.

Viewed historically, the great development of press agency, and organizations designed to create or influence public opinion, is an aftermath of the great uplift and muckrake epoch of the first part of the 20th century. In that time the power of phrase and slogan was appreciated as never before. History was re-examined in the light of mob psychology. Gustave Le Bon laid the foundations of the study of the crowd mind. It was discovered that men in the mass usually act under the stimulation of vague

and grandiose ideas, implanted by some sort of audible or written symbolism. Crowd opinion to be effective, it was seen, must become of a religious nature. The object of statesmen was to start brain storms — to instigate a psychosis by a phrase.

In the effort, however, to organize, standardize and exploit this process on lines of business efficiency, the propaganda factories, phrase mills and opinion canneries appear largely to have over-reached themselves. The phrase, slogan or talisman are powers, when they clearly can be distinguished. But when the air is filled with hosts of discordant battle cries, Demos relapses into static. His plunge from the grandiose phraseocracy of Wilson to the feeble sputterings of "normalcy" was precipitous. At present only the pocket nerve of the populace seems sensitive to slogans. The tactics of national politics have become mere competition in tax cutting.

The multiplication of news canneries in Washington contributed, however, to a result

which the localization of the Washington bureau and its concentration on home town news breaking in the capital had already made inevitable news coloration and filtration by our conscript fathers.

The real news from Washington for years past has been the gradual aggrandizement of the Senate. Slowly, but surely, the American House of Lords has been absorbing the government. Everything has contributed to that end. Everywhere else in the world second chambers have shriveled; here the Senate has swollen from day to day.

The newspapers have been affected by this growth of Senatorial power. The Washington correspondent is thrown more and more into contact with the Senators from his state as the importance of the Washington end of home town news increases.

Washington is a vast beat under any circumstances. The multitude of departments, bureaus and individuals who may become sources of news makes a daily canvass impossible, no mat-

ter how generously the paper provides for its Washington bureau in personnel, payroll and expense accounts.

It is necessary to get in touch with the stream of news at some bottle neck between the capital and the home town. The Senatorial offices are that bottle neck.

The system of Senatorial courtesy and the constitutional power of the Senate over appointments have brought it to pass that the important appointees in Washington who will deal with the federalized affairs of the home city will owe allegiance to the Senators or to the political machine which both they and the Senators serve. A Senator may be the head of the machine or merely its ambassador to Washington, but the effect on news gathering is the same. When Washington is about to act on a newspaper's city or when Washington is to be spurred to action from that city, the real impulse, if not the formal one, will come through the Senator's office.

The Senator also will build up in Wash-

ington among his official dependents his own machine for obtaining advance information about anything which may be incubating in any of the departments, bureaus or what not, which will concern him or his home state, its cities, farms and industries.

To be at outs with the Senators from one's home state is a serious handicap to a Washington correspondent or bureau reporter. As a rule, relations are cordial. Even if the newspaper is not friendly to a Senator and what he represents, it usually is easy to arrange a modus vivendi at Washington. If personal animosity is generated, however, the Washington bureau goes back of the Senator and cultivates original news sources, and at the same time exchanges information with the reporters of other bureaus who are on good terms with the Senator. Nowhere is the system of exchanging information among reporters carried to greater length than in Washington, unless it be in New York, where the old passion for scoops is dying out. Reporters there hunt in packs

and make the boycott on the lone wolf a very effective thing.

The job of a Washington correspondent is at times one of responsibility little overshadowed by that of the managing editor. When national issues are in the making there he easily is the star of the paper. But he is under many handicaps. Mere residence in an unreal and artificial city cramps his style and saps his vigor. His stuff frequently reads much better in Washington than at home. Try as he may to make readjustments, it is hard to tell the story of his artificial world so that it will compete with the racy earthy stuff of the big industrial and commercial city.

In Washington there are different attitudes and a different set of values. From the House and Senate galleries there really appear to be two political parties. Congressmen from adjoining city districts who, at home, are in perfect accord as parts of a bi-partisan machine, which will parcel out the county jobs and even the hootch privileges with rare equity and non-

partisanship in normal times, when political strength is fairly balanced, must in Washington go through the motions of fighting fiercely over tariff schedules or foreign policies.

The bigness of America is well illustrated by the fact that the hottest fights in Washington little disturb the equanimity of the political bosses back home. No matter how the eagle may squawl and the headlines squawk, the men who really send the Congressmen down to Washington on definite errands as to local interests are not inclined to interfere much with the sport of national politics, because so few of its issues will affect them or even seriously affect the prosperity or industrial progress of their cities.

In Washington the Republican party, which is far more homogeneous than the Democratic, actually appears to be more divided than the Democrats. Its two components, that of the Northern ruralists and the big business interests of the sons of that farmer class who went to town a generation or so before, frequently fight

on issues raised by the northwestern wing of the agrarian rebels.

But no one laughs when a Mississippi Senator recommends the League of Nations to the world on grounds of international brotherhood or rings the changes on the equal rights of nations. At home Mississippi entertains its own ideas about the equality of men. It is so certain of its position that it doesn't give a whoop if its Senators favor the admission of Hayti to the international council tables on an equality with America.

Until the convention of 1924, the Democratic party, composed in the South of the same classes that are Republicans north of the Ohio, a federation of urban rings in the industrial North, created and led by Irish brains and sustained largely by the votes of their fellow churchmen, and in the West a mixture of southern settlers, Irish, and agrarian radicals, maintained a good solid front at Washington.

The functioning of that front made news, but it was news about a sham. Back of the

front there was no real political entity, but a loose alliance, sure to be disrupted by any clash of interest. As long as the descendants of the slaveholding classes controlled the Southern Democracy, their realistic alliances with the city bosses of the North were so natural and so well cemented that the Democracy actually was a party. As Western states came into the union, the farmers in the West became radical through railroad fights. The red necked elements in the South became as militantly evangelistic and Puritan as the descendants of the Pilgrims and witch hangers themselves. These Southerners asserted themselves politically and then the Democracy began to disintegrate. The nomination of Bryan in 1896 was the beginning of its disruption — it was the first triumph on a national scale of the new forces. Klanism was a logical aftermath. Klanism was the financial exploitation of the same forces which had been at work in the South and West for generations and which

will continue after the last ten dollar night-shirt is torn up for wash rags.

We have had in the history of the Democratic party another phase of that constant reaction of the frontier on the East which in the nation as a whole is the clew to most of our history. How little of these movements and their meaning has appeared in the Washington news! But there is no reason for surprise. The political picture at Washington has not contained them. Washington has been the last town to hear of them and as yet little understands them.

CHAPTER IX

The Future?

To predict the future of the American newspaper would be to predict the future of America! If the public would change the newspapers, the public must change itself, for the newspapers cannot change it!

Will the public change? Can it change? Can the change be as fast as the environment demands? Those are questions for the seers and prophets, who cannot answer them, and for Time which alone can.

The public is much like a sea on which the winds play. There are rapid changes on the surface and slow changes in the depths. M. Guizot in his admirable "History of Civilization in Europe" shows that institutions change very slowly and that eras do not die suddenly, but that the old and the new dwell side by side,

no one being able to tell where the old ends and the new begins. For him who is curious, amid the roaring streets and the steel and stone canyons of a great city of modern America, there, too, may be seen the middle age.

At a football game, such a person also may sit as in the Circus Maximus at Rome. In a character such as William Hale Thompson, with his penchant for the promotion of public sports, one can see a curial aedile of old Rome, whose duty it was to devise and supervise the public games, and in Fred Lundin one may see a Publius Crassus, who never let his eyes get too far from the main chance.

Nothing is so glibly discussed as is the public and nothing is so little understood. Nothing is so much the victim of well trained men and women of one idea and no understanding. Nothing so resembles a livery stable horse, who, driven by a multiplicity of persons, learns to shake his ears and gang his own gait, regardless of the words of the driver.

Betrayed by the silly passion for unity, sociol-

ogist, psychologist and reformer present their cure-alls, berate, analyze, belabor and restrain, while the public, conscious of its immense diversity, brushes them to one side and goes those many paths which always have been its choice.

Out of those many paths, which the newspaper from day to day treads with it, the public evolves greatness and degradation, art and disease, love and hate, trade and thievery, a million and one things.

How far will the public change and how will the newspaper change? There is one obvious answer. Change both of them will, sometimes one taking the lead and sometimes the other. The earliest records of man show superior and inferior both in social station and in skill. Democracy strives to make that result dependable on merit and not on accident of birth, or restriction of opportunity.

The question, "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" as asked by an early Anglo-Saxon writer, has been

asked in Britain within a few months and will be asked again. It is asked from the soap box and in the public lecture hall. Russia has tried to answer it and failed.

France attempted to answer it with the ingenious invention of Dr. Guillotine in the late eighteenth century. As a result the financier arose to displace the noble, who lost his head long after, as a class, he had lost his economic brains.

Social and racial layer on layer has asked the question in America, and winning wealth has copied the ideas of older civilizations at which it pretended to laugh.

No, change in people is not rapid. Change in things is becoming almost immeasurably fast, but not quite so. What is our greatest social change? The concept of the domestic value of high wages and a high standard of material comfort, leisure and libraries, leisure and parks, leisure and art galleries, leisure and automobiles, the widest diffusion of comfort in the history of the world, and assurance that the

diffusion will be wider still. With evolution and diffusion, comfort will go deeper down among the masses of men than ever before. Whole strata that never had sufficient leisure before, except the worried idleness of unemployment, will have greater leisure and comfort. After abusing both, as people always have, increasing numbers will come to get more and more genuine value out of them.

Airplane travel and radio phones will link the world closer and closer together. The printing press will spread the literature of the world within the reach of men and women who never thought of such things before. That process already is under way. The shelves of every bookstore bear witness to it. The crowded classes at the Universities, larger year by year, are a sign of the new hope, not of a race of phantom chasing pundits, but of a race of healthy, rational, amusement loving men and women, able to work with competence.

Education is expensive and large amounts of it will spill over the sides of the human vessels

into which it is poured, but such always has been the case. The chief novelty in education today is candor, as in the past it has been somewhat wrapped with intellectual fraud. Some of the most stupid and most poorly prepared material that enters a newspaper office comes from public educators. Some of it is violative of English rules that any high school student should know, much of it contains no evidence of the fact that the world and the race still live and that the English language has not yet been wrapped in spiced cloths for mummification.

Though the stuff about the "Good Old Times" has been the veriest bunk, and the "Golden Ages" of the past have been poorly assayed for base metals, it would be folly to assume that humanity in America did not have an immense hope, founded on sound reason. With chemistry observing the behavior of the electron, computed as 1/1800 of an atom in which it thus has space to move about freely, while on the other hand science develops explo-

sives of greater and greater power, even the dullest must know that man has increasingly powerful servants. By the aid of physics and steam, man takes the steel which the chemist and the furnace give him, hoists it into the air and fits it into its predestined place in the skeleton of a great building. The skeleton of steel is clothed with concrete, a product of industrial chemistry, and over all is placed a beautiful outer garment of stone, torn from the womb of nature and shaped to the will of man.

The surgeon, aided by the Roentgen ray, looks into the body of man and studies bones and locates fractures, which, with assistance, nature mends.

Man bores under mountains, voyages on and under the sea, and through the air. His words, borne on electric waves, with whose relatives he lights his cities, cross oceans. Man weaves the most intricate fabrics by hand and by machines. He draws wealth out of the earth, from mine and oil well. He cannot yet control the wind nor still to decorous behavior the

volcano. There still are tornadoes and there are mountains that spout lava. Neither is man master of himself, nor does it yet appear when he may be.

So it will be a long time before a newspaper becomes a scientific journal. Man is still a mammal. The most abtruse scientist still has artistic preference toward blonde or brunette.

Despite Freud there is still poetry written. So a newspaper cannot be all a thesis on psychoanalysis. Nor does it yet appear when the main business of life will be governed on that basis. Once the magnetic fluid theory of Mesmer was highly considered. But little is thought of it now.

Despite the developments of the theories of behavioristics, there is a sneaking love for Robin Hood, so a newspaper cannot become a member of the "Little Rollo" school of literature.

Despite the legalists, nature in its storms and with its volcanoes sets humanity a bad example, and people are children of nature. So a news-

paper scarcely can become a reprint of the revised statutes.

Despite the Puritans, people still are human beings, structurally and emotionally, therefore a newspaper cannot confine its love stories to those of flowers and guinea pigs.

So while the public will change greatly on the surface and very little beneath, except that its mechanical servants will more and more lessen all forms of drudgery, and education will become more widely diffused, the newspaper probably will change more in detail than in principle.

As at present, it probably will respond to the referendum of the pennies and entertain, inform, offend, fight, laugh at and with the readers who do the same with it. Whatever the changes in the public the newspapers will reflect them. And those currents, which are to the public what the Gulf Stream and the Japan Current are to the oceans, those little publics within that vaster public, they will be reflected but not to predominance.

The business man is not a business man twenty-four hours a day. Nor is the business woman. Nor is the doctor, nor the engineer, nor the lawyer forever in professional harness. First of all, they are human beings. Their lives are not all sweetness and light. Some specialized papers presume that the world is all sweetness and light, or they can make it so by saying so, but they are in the minority. Some screech that all is darkness; they have editors who are journalistic monks aspiring to Heavenly typewriters and immense pay.

The sane newspaper reflects its public. Such papers are in the majority, only a small portion of their columns are devoted to crime, and a larger amount to "constructive activities." The public denounces stories of crime largely because it reads them with such close attention. Such stories pack an emotional wallop greater than the story of the gift of a million to a university, the story of a great building, the production of a great painting. Flesh and blood call to flesh and blood.

THE FUTURE

When the public is full of sweet reasonableness, when conflict departs from life, when crime ceases, when sorrow no longer exists, when the Golden Age is here, it will be hailed by the newsboys and will blaze from the printed pages.

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